

**Oxfam and the rise of development
education in England from 1959 to 1979**

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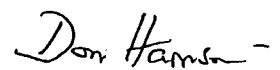
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**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy**

Declaration

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A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Don Harrison". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line.

Don Harrison
London
September 2008

Abbreviations of key organisations and terms

ACDE - Advisory Committee on Development Education
CEWC - Council for Education in World Citizenship
CIIR - Catholic Institute for International Relations
CND - Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament
CPAG - Child Poverty Action Group
CRC - Community Relations Council
CWDE - Centre for World Development Education
DANGO – Database of Archives of Non-Governmental Organisations
DCSF - Department for Children, Schools and Families
DE - Development Education
DEA - Development Education Association
DEC - Development Education Centre
DES - Department of Education and Science
DfES - Department for Education and Skills
DfID - Department for International Development
EEC - European Economic Community
EIU – Education for International Understanding
FAO - Food and Agriculture Organisation
FCO - Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FFHC - Freedom from Hunger Campaign
GCE - General Certificate of Education
LNU - League of Nations Union
NADEC - National Association of Development Education Centres
NGO - Non-Government Organisation
NUT - National Union of Teachers
ODA - Overseas Development Administration
ODI - Overseas Development Institute
ODM - Ministry of Overseas Development
OWT - One World Trust
PGWG - Parliamentary Group for World Government
RVA - Returned Volunteer Action
SCEIU - Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding
SCF / S.C.F. - Save the Children Fund
SOAS - School of Oriental and African Studies
TANU - Tanzania African National Union (post-1964)
UNA / UNA-UK - United Nations Association
UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF - United Nations Children's Fund
VCOAD - Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development
VSO / V.S.O. - Voluntary Service Overseas
WDM - World Development Movement
WOW - War on Want
WSP – World Studies Project

Abstract

During the 1960s and 1970s, non-government organisations (NGOs) in England influenced public understanding of Third World development, through lobbying, information and educational programmes. The largest NGO involved in the schools' dimension of this movement for 'development education' was Oxfam. Oxfam's Education Department made a contribution to theory and practice for learning about Third World development, in a wider context of international understanding.

Historical studies of changing educational policy during these two decades have mainly focused on interactions between government and the teaching profession, relating to official reports on the changing nature of schools, to Schools Council curriculum development projects, and to Black Paper emphases on standards. This thesis is innovative in its focus on the role of the civic sector, as represented here by Oxfam and a network of organisations which were seeking to improve learning in a specific area of knowledge, skills and values.

The methods used to bring Oxfam's educational activity and influence to the light of the present include analyses of NGO and government sources and of interviews with practitioners. The findings show complex interactions within both NGO and government fields and between the two fields. Oxfam's educational visionaries were constrained by internal pressures like fundraising. Government officials had varying views between education and overseas development ministries on appropriate levels of support for development education. The conclusion is that this lack of a co-ordinated understanding of development education limited its entry to state education in England during the 1960s and 1970s, even though Oxfam had a substantial role in the growth of the movement.

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Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis is a study of the rise of development education as a field of learning in England during the two United Nations 'Development Decades' of the 1960s and 1970s. Learning in schools about the developing world was stimulated and supported by non-government organisations (NGOs), particularly Oxfam and Christian Aid, which were growing in income and public influence during these decades. The main theme of the thesis is the role played by the Education Department of Oxfam in the growth of development education as a movement, both through liaison with other NGOs and with the two most important Government Ministries, for Education and for Overseas Development.

The scope of this thesis

NGOs are organisations in UK civil society that have been and are independent of government. From Victorian philanthropic organisations like Dr Barnardo's Homes, through the founding of The Save the Children Fund (SCF) in 1919 to the period of this research, terminologies have changed, with 'NGO' progressively preferred to 'charity'. The Charity Commission, based on laws dating back to the Elizabethan era and only recently revised by the current Labour Government, has acted as a controller of NGO activities in the United Kingdom. At times NGOs trying to raise awareness of development issues have been challenged by the Commission for supposed 'politicisation'. The NGOs studied here are those with charitable purposes related to Third World aid and development, like Oxfam, and those with purposes related to global awareness and education like the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC). The

former organisation was more involved in 'development awareness' while the latter one was more involved in 'world-minded education'. This distinction between 'education' and 'development' is highlighted in the table below which attempts to map key events in the emergence of development education in England in relation to changes in the NGO sector (the two central columns) and in central government (the two outer columns). The aim of this is to show some of the complexity of social and political forces and changes in public attitude which caused the emergence of development education. The thesis as a whole is a study of these intersecting trends, aiming to illustrate how the strategic decision making of one development NGO influenced a network of similar NGOs and the decision making of central government in relation to learning about development in schools.

	OFFICIAL EDUCATION	WORLD-MINDED EDUCATION ORGANISATIONS	DEVELOPMENT AWARENESS ORGANISATIONS	OFFICIAL DEVELOPMENT
1940s		CEWC	Oxfam	
1950s	Ministry of Education: Circular 294	Commonwealth Institute	War on Want Christian Aid	
1960s	DES (1964)	Education Advisory Committee of PGWG (1960)	Freedom from Hunger Campaign (1960) Oxfam Education Department (1964) VCOAD (1965)	ODM (1964)
1970s	Circular 9/76 (1976)	World Studies Project (1973) SCEIU (1978)	Birmingham DEC (1975) CWDE (1977)	ACDE Report (1978)
1980s		World Studies 8-13	NADEC	
1990s	DfES		DEA	DfID
2000s	DCSF Global Dimension			Enabling Effective Support

Fig. 1: Time table of key organisations (for explanation of acronyms used, see following pages in this chapter, the list of abbreviations on page 2 and also Appendix One).

By the late twentieth century, English perceptions of the world were changing, influenced by the end of Empire and entry to the European Community.¹ From the Suez debacle in 1956 and Macmillan's 'Wind of Change' speech in South Africa in 1960 onwards, British foreign policy was involved with negotiating relations with the United States (for example over the war in Vietnam), with colonial dependencies seeking independence (for example Rhodesia) and with Europe (for example in a series of applications to join the EEC). The United Kingdom aimed to keep a position of international influence which it felt it was losing with the independence of former colonies. Policy continued to be based on Churchill's vision of three interlocking circles of British influence, in the Empire-Commonwealth, with the United States and in Europe.² It is convenient to divide this period of Britain's foreign policy into four sections, from the Macmillan Government of 1959 to 1964, the Wilson Governments of 1964 to 1970, the Heath Government of 1970 to 1974 and the Wilson and Callaghan Governments of 1974 to 1979. This alternation between Conservative and Labour administrations is marked by a common trend of decolonisation and reduction in defence roles east of Suez. The Heath Government changed the balance of policy between the Empire-Commonwealth and Europe through bringing about UK entry to the European Economic Community in 1973. At the same time, changing approaches to domestic policy issues like race relations gives evidence of the United Kingdom striving to become a more tolerant society as the population changed with the influx of New Commonwealth citizens.³ Increasing immigration from the countries of the New Commonwealth created the need for Race Relations legislation and linked to that for language support and multicultural education in schools.

During the 1960s and 1970s issues of hunger, aid and development became an important cause in England and the rest of the 'developed' world in their relations with the 'developing' world. There were many other international and global causes of public concern during these decades, including nuclear weapons, racism and the apartheid regime in South Africa and a growing

environmental awareness of the scarcity of the world's natural resources in an era of escalating population. Therefore the lobby for development awareness had to strive for the attention of the public in general and Government in particular. The Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) was created in 1964 by the incoming Wilson Government, with a seat in Cabinet. The Heath Government demoted its status to an Overseas Development Administration (ODA) within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The returning Wilson Government in 1974 reinstated the ODM as a separate Ministry, which was to give increasing financial and logistical support to NGOs active in development education during the 1970s.

In providing 'A Bird's-Eye View of the History of Development Education' in 1982, the Swiss educator Pierre Pradervand stated his opinion that:

Vague and hazy thinking enhanced by the non-existence of any clear definitions of key concepts such as 'development', (not to mention 'education') does not make our task easier. This is in part due to the fact that activism – not to mention hyperactivism – seems to be the hallmark of many organizations involved in development education.⁴

The NGOs that had a vision for development education in England during the 1960s and 1970s brought a new dimension to these inter-linked fields of learning. The new dimension was focused on learning about, with and from people – and preferably young people – in the newly named and identified 'developing countries'. The new emphasis was not only on knowledge of distant peoples as some school learning programmes, particularly in the Humanities, had been before. The idea of development education included a developmental, participatory learning methodology which should lead to action for change on behalf of the world's poorest citizens. In the terminologies established above, development education grew within the wider framework of international

understanding through giving it a new trend for citizenship action. This field of learning was led by the NGOs that were developing their own understanding of people's lives in the developing world through their expanding aid and development programmes. It could not however be a free-floating programme as its very identity required the building of connections and partnerships with other, already established educational movements and organisations.

Research questions

Practitioners of development education in England are not in agreement about when this movement started, if indeed it can be described as a movement in its early stages or rather as a mingling of diverse strands of initiatives in the field of global learning in schools. One account places the beginning when O. G. Thomas (always known as Og Thomas) was appointed head of Oxfam's Education Department in 1966.⁵ The British networking body between the development NGOs and the ODM, the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD) recognised a meeting in Rome in 1969 as an early use of the term 'development education' external to England:

The Fourth Conference of the Freedom From Hunger Campaign, meeting in Rome in 1969, 'strongly recommended that development education, based on genuine solidarity, be a major aspect of the Campaign in planning for the United Nations Second Development Decade'.⁶

This led to a European level conference on 'The School Open to the Third World' in Sweden in 1970 and a follow-up conference for educators in the United Kingdom organised by VCOAD in April 1971. By the time of a second major networking conference in 1977 organised by VCOAD's successor organisation, The Centre for World Development Education (CWDE), development education was an established term with growing support from the ODM, the development

NGOs and the growing number of local Development Education Centres (DECs). One of the first DECs was set up by an Oxfam staff member, Scott Sinclair, in Birmingham in 1975.⁷

The process of this research on the history of development education has been a response to three key questions.

The first question is: *why did a movement for development education in schools emerge in England and what were the key influences on its educational theory and practice?*

This question provides a context for the two following ones. It examines the rise of development education in England in relation to national policies and attitudes towards state education and towards the emergence of the developing world. It does this through a consideration of changing ideas about what education is for and how best to practise it, referring to key thinkers of the period including the de-schooling movement in the United States and the politicised awareness inspired by Paulo Freire in Brazil.

The second research question is: *to what extent and in what ways were the 1960s to 1970s the key period for the rise of development education in England?*

The 1960s and 1970s were designated by the United Nations as 'Development Decades', which stimulated activity in the world's richer countries to be more active in helping and learning about the world's poorer countries. The United Nations also made 1959 into World Refugee Year and it was during activity for this that Oxfam appointed its first paid national schools' worker. Therefore, 1959 has been chosen as the starting year for this study. The final fieldwork chapter focuses on 1978 because many factors in the growing movement for development education came to a culmination during that year, in particular the

commitment of the ODM through the Report of its Advisory Committee on Development Education (ACDE). The following year, 1979, has been chosen as the end year for this study. This is because the change from a Labour to a Conservative Government in that year marked a radical shift in government attitudes towards development education and the NGO sector.

The third question is: how was the rise of development education in England influenced by a network of non-government development organisations interacting with government and to what extent was Oxfam the key NGO in this process?

The two decades chosen for research, the 1960s and 1970s, can be seen as a defining period for the growth of civil sector involvement with government in the field of development education. It has been assumed that Oxfam, described as the 'giant' in the network of organisations providing resources and support to teachers, had an important role in the emergence of development education in England.⁸ This thesis explores this role in relation to forces of change and continuity both within the NGO itself and in collaboration with other organisations in the voluntary sector and in the central government ODM and Department of Education and Science (DES). This necessitates an exploration of inter-agency liaison, through the VCOAD network, and Oxfam's role as a member of the network. It also requires an exploration of the internal dynamics of the key NGO in order to understand the constraints put on expansion of its educational work within the home country.

The process for answering these three questions has involved identification of the most useful sources of archival material, both for government records and for those held by NGOs. This analysis has been strengthened by the willingness of people who were involved in the education programme during the 1960s and 1970s to share their memories with me, notably Barbara Bond, Marieke Clarke,

Pete Davis, Bill and Maggie Jackson, Richard and Sally Taylor, Sally Thomas and Marcus Thompson.

Contacting and talking with a wide range of informants who were active in the rise of development education has been an important research method in order to complement the study of written source materials. The resultant fieldwork chapters combine both types of historical information in order to create a continuous and coherent analysis which aims to provide a thread leading through the maze of information and interpretations available to academic researchers.

Contribution to historical understanding

This research provides a detailed study of two decades in the history of globally aware education in England. This builds on a long tradition for such learning, which is becoming increasingly evident in historical research. It also adds to understanding of the role of civil sector organisations like development NGOs to public life and educational policy formation.⁹

A long view of how global education has developed in the western world since the late nineteenth century highlights 'twin landmarks' of 'Education for International Understanding' and 'Education for World Citizenship'.¹⁰ Robert Sylvester sees the former as playing a pragmatic or softer role in educational thinking and practice while the latter concept has had a harder or more idealistic role. In this view, some movements for educational change have been more targeted at increasing understanding of differences and diversity among people and nations whereas others have aimed more to develop a sense of a unified purpose in a view of a shared world. This 'map of international education' also plots key individuals and institutions along an axis for political sensitivity or neutrality for positions taken in relation to national government provision.¹¹

At the start of the twentieth century, the UK Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee planned lantern-slide lectures for 'projecting Britain to the colonies' and 'projecting the colonies to Britain', under the guidance of Halford Mackinder, the founding father of geographical education in Britain.¹² This involved the recruitment of a professional photographer and the selection of appropriate images for learning on both sides. There was therefore already a tradition in England for 'colonial instruction' which grew as the century progressed into a variety of approaches for learning about and from distant places. The most significant influence on this was de-colonisation of the British Empire and the creation of the concept of a multiracial Commonwealth of Nations. Processes of de-colonisation have become an increasing focus of historical study by the early twenty-first century. Recent research on how the British withdrew from Kenya in the aftermath of the Mau Mau uprisings has illustrated the amount of 'spin' exercised by the British Government to sustain the idea of beneficial colonialism driven by a 'civilising mission':

Decades had been spent constructing Britain's imperial image, and that image contrasted sharply with the brutal behaviour of other European empires in Africa. King Leopold's bloody rule in the Congo, the German-directed genocide of the Herero in South West Africa, and France's disgrace in Algeria – the British reputedly avoided all those excesses because, simply, it was British to do so. That is what the civilizing mission led much of the Western world to believe, and it was certainly believed by the British public at home.¹³

This work of history aims to review the arena of educational change in England during the 1960s and 1970s from a different standpoint than the well researched political influences on school policy formation, where much has been published.¹⁴ The standpoint is that of NGOs operating in the arena of forming and influencing public attitudes in general and teachers' attitudes in particular.

This relates to another increasingly well researched arena of how the English viewed the wider world of their former colonies, being re-termed as 'the developing world'.

This standpoint relates to how processes of curriculum change were seen by educators at the time. For example, in reviewing the impact of the Schools Council Geography for Young School Leavers (GYSL) project, C. Parsons has referred to the 'curriculum change game' where 'there seems to have been a prevalence of views which are idealized, partial or based upon mistaken assumptions'. He advocated the need for:

... accurate descriptive analyses of what actually happens and what people think and value in particular cases of educational change in order to develop sound models to guide action.¹⁵

This present study explores what people charged with educational change inside key development NGOs, particularly Oxfam, thought and valued in their work to improve learning about the developing world. It aims to develop a model for NGO involvement in educational change, as history for its own sake and from that as a possible guide for further NGO interactions with the education sector in England and beyond.

In a recent article titled 'Frontiers of Influence' published from the North South Centre in Canada. A. Van Rooy has compared the influence of Canadian and British NGOs at two global conferences: the 1974 World Food Conference in Rome and the 1990 Earth Summit in Rio. Her conclusion was that the British NGOs were largely un-coordinated and ineffective at the earlier international event, with 'little evidence of NGO influence on any of the British government's policy'.¹⁶ She quotes John Tanner from the lobbying group The World Development Movement (WDM) as admitting to being 'out of our depth' and concludes that more research is necessary because it could be argued 'that

NGOs may have been indirectly influential because they had raised the atmosphere of concern and had buttressed the government's willingness to contribute what little it did', stating that:

... we may thus need to focus more seriously on this complex reaction of issues and networks among NGOs, institutions and governments – a realm where the line between public and private, official and altruistic is always difficult to discern.¹⁷

Key areas of the thesis

The first key area in the thesis is the focus on Oxfam as a development NGO pioneering the field of development education. Oxfam created a brand for its educational work within the United Kingdom, distinct from its educational programmes in many of the poorest countries in the world. This was progressively achieved through publications for teachers and experimental projects with teachers, with much more of the former than the latter. 'Oxfam Education' has developed from providing support to pupils and teachers with 'Third World' projects to providing curriculum models for 'Global Citizenship Education'. The former started on a professional basis in 1959; the latter was partly achieved through the publication of a curriculum framework document in 1997.¹⁸

Published histories of Oxfam's work have a main focus on the growth of aid and relief programmes into longer-term development programmes across the developing world.¹⁹ Ben Whitaker's book has the most to say about Oxfam's educational dilemmas, stating in 1983 that 'the importance of educational work is neither popular nor widely understood – compared with the more tangible appeal of the alternatives – although it is in fact the real key to getting any change in the North-South imbalance'.²⁰ Maggie Black's book is the most recently available published history of Oxfam. It is strong on personalities and

policy shifts, much weaker on educational trends. Much less has been written about Oxfam's education work within the United Kingdom, apart from where this comes within more general studies of global education.²¹

The second key area is the networking of development awareness and world minded education NGOs, specifically through VCOAD's Education Unit. The on-going dilemma for NGOs was how much they could gain through participating in networking activities, as opposed to how much influence and identity they might lose in the view of the public for their own organisation. From this perspective, the influence of VCOAD's Education Unit on government and the teaching profession fluctuated according to the degree of commitment which individual members of the network had for it. As one of the largest member organisations, Oxfam had in effect more to lose through networking in terms of financial input and educational outreach than a smaller member like the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR). This area of the thesis therefore contributes to networking studies through exploring how and why like-minded organisations chose to collaborate in perceiving a common cause.

The third key area is how Oxfam and the VCOAD network, both separately and together, related to Government Ministries and sought to have influence on them to improve learning in schools about development issues, in the wider context of world minded education. Analysis of the commitment of the Ministry of Education and its successor DES to international understanding shows a fairly detached position, generally content to support CEWC financially in providing information for schools. This held true throughout the 1960s and 1970s until Shirley Williams as Minister committed support for a Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding (SCEIU) in 1978. At the same time, successive Ministers of Overseas Development expressed interest in raising levels of development awareness within the UK, including in schools, but only came to give a more substantial commitment in 1977-1978 through the creation

of a Development Awareness Fund and the ACDE to give advice on how to distribute funds to organisations around the country.

Organisation of the chapters

This thesis is arranged into two framing chapters which are followed by five chronological fieldwork chapters and a conclusion.

Chapter Two outlines the research methodology which has been used. This chapter describes the personal experience of the researcher in the field of development education since 1979 and the relevance of this to historical research. It further explores the usefulness of written and oral source materials and how both have been combined in this investigation into the recent past of development education in England.

Chapter Three provides a study of frameworks for analysing the rise of development education. These include the nature of historical understanding in general terms, as well as more specific discussions of meanings of development and of education during the chosen period. This range of debate provides a context for the fieldwork chapters on development education which follow it.

Chapter Four examines the field for global learning up 1959, with a focus on the role played by the Ministry of Education and by the NGO it gave financial support to, CEWC. This was a field with many different areas of activity, including interest in the Commonwealth supported by the educational programme of the Commonwealth Institute. During the decade of the 1950s, 'international understanding' was stimulated by UNESCO and at the same time there was a growing interest in cultural diversity within England in the field which came to be called 'multicultural education'. To some extent these two trends, for global awareness and for community tolerance, can be seen in conflict with each other, with any interest in the developing world in its infancy because that world

had not at this time become separated from the colonial powers and identified as having its own existence.²²

Chapter Five provides a focus on the 1960s, as seen from Government Ministries for Education and Overseas Development and through their liaison with development NGOs through VCOAD. The core of this chapter is a study of the Education Department of Oxfam, as the lead development NGO investing in learning within England about the developing world. The key dynamic explored is between Oxfam's choices in developing its own educational programme in this field or in working more collaboratively with other organisations.

Chapter Six covers the period during the early years of the 1970s when Og Thomas left Oxfam's Education Department to set up a small, independent development education organisation which he called Antipoverty. The ambitious rise and financial fall of Antipoverty are traced through studies of some of its school projects which aimed to link learning about developing countries with pupils' action for development there and at home. This meant that a new understanding of the nature and purpose of development education was being envisaged and to a limited extent trialled through in-school practice.

Chapter Seven extends the inter-government and inter-agency range of Chapter Five into the 1970s. The core focus is again on the Education Department of Oxfam after the return of Og Thomas, which led to the setting up of some of the earliest local resource centres for development education (DECs). The World Studies Project is presented in relation to this, as a new initiative for global understanding created by the Parliamentary Group for World Government (PGWG). The Project encompassed development education within its broader view of possibilities for learning about the contemporary and future world.

Chapter Eight concludes the fieldwork study with a concentration on one year: 1978. This year brought together different strands of NGO initiatives and

government support, for SCEIU and the ACDE. 1978 can also be seen as a high point of government belief in development education with the promise of increasing government financial commitment to it. This makes a logical point in time to conclude the study.

Chapter Nine makes conclusions that the NGOs had some effect in achieving the changes and improvements they perceived as possible and desirable for state school provision for learning values and attitudes towards the changing world. These changes were limited by restrictions on networking activity that included difficulties of identifying common interests and ways of working together. Capacity for change was also limited by the restrictions imposed on NGOs in terms of legitimate charitable action on the home front, as well as by contradictions and policy shifts within government.

Opportunities for wider research

This approach focuses on aspects of national influence between the NGO sector and government. It would require too much detail to assess NGO influences at Local Education Authority and regional levels. There is therefore much scope for further research of this nature, including oral memory research with teachers in specific schools who collaborated with development NGOs. The research has also been mainly focused on secondary level state education, because many of the educational activities of NGOs were aimed at this age level during the period chosen for study.

The research has been restricted to England rather than the whole of the United Kingdom, in recognition of the existence of different relationships to the world and to national education in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. This thesis does not explore the rise of development education in other countries, where there is ample scope for further comparative investigations. Many of the influences on the rise of development education and on Oxfam were from

outside England and particularly from the United Nations and its development-focused agencies which included the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) in Rome, UNESCO in Paris and UNICEF in Geneva, as well as official support for development education in neighbouring countries like Sweden and the Netherlands and also the World Council of Churches in Geneva.²³ Y. Ishii has created a list of five 'necessary contexts' for this to happen, which suggest that development education is a concept created in richer countries for learning about, with or from poorer countries with which the richer countries have direct connections. She believes that development education will grow more readily where the country has both an internationalist, peace-supporting view of its foreign relations and an emphasis on social and economic equality and shared moral values in its home policy. When applied to the United Kingdom, Ishii sees all these points to be less in place than in countries like Canada, Sweden and the Netherlands where official support for development education in schools has developed more quickly and effectively.²⁴

Within these defined parameters, this thesis provides detailed insights into the educational work of one well-known British NGO, Oxfam, and the extent of the influence it was able to exert for development education on other NGOs and on Government during the 1960s and 1970s.

References to Chapter One

¹ Richard Weight's recent book on national identity in Britain (Weight, R., 2002) develops the historical debate about identities started by Linda Colley (Colley, L., 1992). Weight outlines successive government efforts to instil interest in Empire and Commonwealth in young people's minds, setting up for example the idea of holding Commonwealth Days almost in competition to United Nations Days (Hogg to Macmillan in May 1957, quoted on page 288, footnote 38).

² Hennessy (2006), Chapter Six. Also see note 13 in Chapter Four here.

³ Grosvenor, I. (1997).

⁴ Pradervand, P. (1982), page 450.

⁵ According to Hugh Starkey, describing the retirement event for Og Thomas: 'In June 1991 about 100 people gathered in Oxford, England, to celebrate 25 years of development education. They traced the beginnings of the movement to the appointment, in 1966, by the overseas aid charity Oxfam of Og Thomas with a specific brief to develop an education programme', in Osler (ed.) (1994), pages 12-13.

⁶ White, L. (1971), page 23.

⁷ See Sinclair's own analysis of the growth of development education in England in Sinclair, S. (1994).

⁸ Wright, D. and Wright, J. (1974), page 20.

⁹ For a recent contribution to the history of global education in the UK, see Hicks, D. (2003). An example of recent academic interest in the NGO sector is the setting up of the DANGO archive at the University of Birmingham.

¹⁰ Sylvester, R. (2005), page 145.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ryan, J. (1997), pages 186-191.

¹³ Elkins, C. (2005), page 306.

¹⁴ See Plaskow, M. (ed.) (1985), Dale, R. (1989) and Ball, S. (1990).

¹⁵ Parsons, C. (1987), pages 216-217.

¹⁶ Van Rooy, A. (1997), page 98.

¹⁷ Ibid., page 111.

¹⁸ Oxfam (1997).

¹⁹ Including Jones, M. (1965), Gill, P. (1970), Whitaker, B. (1983) and Black, M. (1992).

²⁰ Whitaker, B. (1983), page 178.

²¹ For example, in the section on 'Voluntary Organisations' in Heater, D. (1980), pages 81-3; also Harrison, D. (2005), pages 6-8.

²² Although David Hicks referred to the two fields as 'two sides of the same coin' in an article in 1979 (Hicks, D., 1979).

²³ See Jeanne Vickers' history monograph written for UNICEF for background on international movements and organisations collaborating for development education up to the mid 1980s (Vickers, J., 1986).

²⁴ Ishii, Y. (2001).

Chapter Two

Research methodology

This thesis on the recent history of educational changes and continuities in England draws primarily on archival papers in NGOs and government ministries, complemented with oral interviews. This raises a number of methodological issues, including the nature of research in education policy, my own values as a researcher and ways of using archived papers and oral memories as sources of information.

I have come to this research as a long-established practitioner in development education and its cognate fields, particularly human rights and citizenship education. From a secondary level teaching career in England, southern and West Africa and South East Asia, I subsequently developed learning materials and in-service training models for development and global NGOs including Oxfam, Save the Children and CEWC. This has made a contribution to the practice of global learning which I have been seeking to analyse and evaluate through the research process. The historical dimension of this development / global education field in England and how NGOs have contributed to influencing public and professional educational attitudes lies at the heart of this. The methodological approach of this thesis has been to construct research methods which help to understand why and how decisions were made to change and improve global learning in schools in a context of some continuity of 'imperial attitudes' towards former colonial territories.

My personal and professional background has been a factor in defining a period for focused study. The decades of the 1960s and 1970s were the key years for

the rise of development education in England and many other countries in the 'developed' world (see Chapter One). Midway through this time I trained to teach, a process that included reading books by radical educators like Paulo Freire and Ivan Illich. After teaching in a range of countries of the 'rich' and 'poor' world. I was appointed by Oxfam as Education Adviser at Archway Development Education Centre in London in autumn 1979. I have chosen to end this study by focusing on the key year of 1978 when many possible decisions were open to determine future pathways for development education in England. The conclusion updates this from where I actively entered the field and from where I can write with direct experience and observation. Therefore, this study is as much a task of personal history making as history of education in a wider framework of social analysis.

Research in education policy

Research into education policy formation has been described as a 'contested terrain' because there are many possible ways of assessing how and why educational decisions are made.¹ A number of models are available to help the researcher decide the most useful form of analysis, from seeing education policy decisions as 'centrally controlled', 'pluralist, in which a variety of interests are taken into account' or 'fragmented/multi-directed' which can include making allowance for 'unforeseen circumstances'.² This thesis has followed a pluralist and fragmented approach, as the chosen direction is from apparent NGO influence towards government responses rather than starting from an exploration of central government control on schooling. In other words, the method adopted is based on a model of multi-directional change which can encompass both intended and unintended outcomes.³ It is important to see beyond a model of history which assumes progress, as Jenny Ozga has highlighted:

One of the problems that needs to be tackled by those attracted to historically based policy research is the conscious and unconscious construction of history as the story of progress.⁴

Progress here would imply that more teachers taught in better ways to more students about global issues. The narrative constructed here is an unearthing of evidence in order to construct an account of possibilities and opportunities, some of which can be seen to have been taken and some not. Beyond this would lie a form of virtual history which could lead to endless speculations about what might have been.⁵ The depiction of a pluralist/fragmented approach helps to clarify the boundaries between what this specific piece of research is capable of doing and what it is not, in support of the idea that 'the first step towards improving the quality of educational research is to recognize its limitations'.⁶

This is research into forces of influence from outside the defined educational world of Ministry, Local Education Authorities and teachers and their organisations which could be seen as the classically defined area for educational research, influenced by political and economic factors.⁷ In the area of civil society and the educational role of NGOs, there are few existing models on which to base research into policy formation. Harriet Marshall has drawn on a Bernsteinian approach to create a simplified model for state / profession / voluntary sector interactions. This thesis aims to explore the value and limitations of this model, through providing a deeper insight into the historical processes at work in a defined time period both between the fields (as Marshall has done) and, in relation to this, also within the voluntary sector field itself. Therefore, the methodology employed can be described as an attempt to reach an understanding of changing social attitudes in a wider framework than that most usually defined as the area for influence on educational policy making. This wide range also encompasses the attitudes and perceptions of young English citizens and their educators towards their country's changing role on the world stage, in other words to relate educational policy with foreign and

overseas aid policy in as far as the latter can be shown to have had any impact on or relationship with the former.⁸ The chosen research topic on aspects of education related to global and social justice issues enters the also contested terrain of politicisation, which is why it is important to understand the role of the researcher in the chosen research methodology.⁹

Values in educational research

A conference in 1996 at the University of London Institute of Education on 'value-free' and 'value-rich' approaches to educational research, proposed that 'different methods are appropriate in different circumstances'.¹⁰ Martyn Hammersley, in the same collection, draws on Max Weber to make a useful distinction between a research endeavouring to take a value free position while at the same time identifying areas for research that are 'value relevant'.¹¹

Consideration of epistemology is important for placing research into NGO involvements in the educational field in a context where the researcher brings direct career experience to the process. It could be very easy to bring a set of values for what should constitute 'good' global education from my educational practice into my educational research. Here the Hammersley / Weber distinction is useful, to help create a boundary line between expressed NGO educational values which may guide the selection of what it is important to carry out research about (namely how the field for global education grew in England and what influenced it) and – on the other side of the research boundary – what methods of conception, discovery and analysis are legitimate as a process of educational research that can be seen by readers to be neutral, independent and recognisably free of pre-determined values. Hammersley's chapter also refers specifically to 'the role that Halsey and others played in advising the Labour government of the mid-1960s, notably in relation to education policy', highlighting the influence of scientific sociology on the government's planning for equality via comprehensive schooling.¹² Hammersley's conclusion is to reject

both a rationalising, universalistic Enlightenment approach to research and a post-Enlightenment, post-modern one that rejects any value system as possible in a competing field of diversities of values:

I believe that social research must necessarily be committed to value neutrality simply because it cannot validate value conclusions. While value judgements have a role to play in research, they should only be used as resources by means of which to select or construct value-relevant phenomena for factual investigation. And the potentially biasing effects of value commitment must be guarded against if we are to maximise our chances of producing sound knowledge.¹³

This is the methodological position aimed for in this research, to investigate changing values in education as objectively as possible, recognising that the personal views and experiences of the researcher help to define the area of research but endeavouring to examine evidence from the past within its own terms and not from any pre-determined ideological standpoint. What is most important is the researcher's capacity to acknowledge the limitations of the research. Where many practitioners in the field of global learning aspire to a better world that is achievable through learning about it, the educational researcher in this field has to be constantly aware of this and maintain a critically reflective distance from it. Therefore, the historical narrative constructed here through analysis of primary source materials is an attempt to understand what people thought and did and what their expressed or implicit educational aims were. It cannot claim to do more than this and be on the side of a perceived progress where all pupils were enabled to learn in better ways about an improvable world scenario.

Such explorations help to put the range of research techniques applied here into a frame which can help to define their limits or possible distortions, because as

Robin Usher stated in the same collection, 'when we do research what we see reflected is ourselves located in our biography, culture and social practices'.¹⁴ What is necessary is to add interpretation based on creative insight or even guesswork into what may have been thought and what reasons there may have been for decisions in the past, and in relation to this some consideration of what may have been missed or under-emphasised by historians to date. In this light, from Michael Erden's chapter relating the biographical to the educative, we can accept that 'it is only through imagination that we can approach the lives of others'.¹⁵

Another view of the relationship between personal values and seemingly neutral research has been provided by Geoffrey Walford in stating that during his own research work 'personal issues were central in the choice of research topic and in the issues that were confronted during the research'.¹⁶ He balances this with the view that 'without objectivity as a goal, social research becomes indistinguishable from journalism or political polemic'.¹⁷ Gary McCulloch has also written recently on historical insider research, emphasising the extent to which 'ethical issues loom large for the insider historian who wishes to develop a critical interpretation of their educational institution'.¹⁸ My approach is therefore to endeavour to hold a balance between the personal issues that have motivated the research and informed some of its key decisions with the need for perceivable academic impartiality. In my case, this is the balance between having been a practitioner in the field of global education for many years and the task of conducting analytical historical research in some of the origins of that field. This perception of balance between personal interest and value-free impartiality has guided the determination of the research hypotheses and the fieldwork process.

As stated at the outset of this chapter, I have a long-standing professional involvement as an activist for change in the educational movements I am now studying. Clearly, committed academic research is possible and valuable as

long as it is recognised as such. What I been learning to do methodologically is to try and achieve a balance between my own positions in regard to the growth of NGO movements and a more impartial technique for analysing these movements.

Sources of information from fieldwork

Gary McCulloch and William Richardson have described a range of historical sources and strengths and limitations in their use, including published and unpublished primary sources, fiction, school textbooks, visual and oral sources.¹⁹ In all uses of historical records it is clearly important to keep in mind Stephen Ball's distinction between data as 'evidence' which can be seen to prove something and data as 'background' which serves to help the historian understand more generally why things might have occurred in the ways they did.²⁰ An example of this choice the researcher has in deciding how to use records can be seen in a table produced by Mary Waring in 1979 showing 'Growing involvement in school science, 1945-1962' as this charts extra-national influences from UNESCO in relation to national level bodies like the Nuffield Foundation.²¹ This could be used to show that there was a direct impact on education in England from outside, international bodies or it could be kept more in the background as an indication of a trend that is not more closely capable of proof.

The main method of research is analysis of archival documents, particularly those which are accessible within the NGO sector. Oxfam, in particular, has a well organised bank of internal policy papers which include policy documents for its Education and Youth Department, as well as records of higher level organisational decision making in the Directors' files and minutes of Council meetings. The Oxfam archive provides a core narrative of policy development in relation to global education, to which other NGO archives can be related. These others include Christian Aid papers held at the School of Oriental and African

Studies and the War on Want papers currently being archived there, as well as related movements that sought to influence public attitudes to the wider world like the United Nations Association papers archived at the London School of Economics. Some supporting research has been carried out in the papers of Government Ministers, including the Reginald Prentice papers kept at the London School of Economics and the Judith Hart papers at the Museum of Labour History in Manchester.

VCOAD, the co-ordinating body that the ODM helped to set up from 1965 onwards, has no specific archive of its own, although records of meetings are traceable through the Oxfam and other NGO archives and in the records of government representatives from the DES and ODM. These latter papers are held at the National Archives in Kew, where the Freedom from Hunger Campaign files for 1960 to 1965 merge into the VCOAD files from 1965 onwards. In the DES and ODM papers there are also records of Government involvement with UNESCO, especially for the key Paris Conference in 1974 that agreed the *Recommendations on Education for International Understanding*. These records show a confusion of roles between the two Ministries which highlights the importance of including both within the frame for this research. There was a changing global climate marked within the British Government in response to external processes of decolonisation, globalisation and an increasing role for organisations within the United Nations like UNESCO. This process can be seen in the merger during the 1966 to 1970 Wilson administration of the Colonial and Commonwealth Offices and the subsequent amalgamation of the new Commonwealth Relations Office into the Foreign Office as the new Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO), as well as in the setting up of the ODM itself under Barbara Castle in 1964 'with a new instruction that aid was to be granted not so much as a charity but as a real means to development, particularly within the Commonwealth'.²² Therefore, the role of the new ODM as an influence on global learning within government circles is important, as is its level of perceived co-operation or absence of it with the DES.

The historical technique for use of archives in this research is to attempt some level of triangulation between what NGOs felt they were achieving and what Government officials recorded. As a specific example of this, once the DES rather than the ODM had decided to take responsibility for attending the 1974 UNESCO Conference in Paris, there was a heavy reliance on a delegate chosen from the DES-funded global education NGO, CEWC.²³ This underlines the importance of assessing contacts and agreements within the NGO sector as well as between that sector and government. The NGO sector in relation to global education can be seen through the prism of relations with what at the time was generally labelled the 'Third' or 'Developing World', which is why Oxfam is a lead organisation. However, there were other parts of the sector involved with global learning, like the more internationalist, peace education minded CEWC and the United Nations Association (UNA). There were also, although largely outside the main scope of this archival research, professional education institutions and organisations like the Geographical Association with a strong interest and involvement with global learning in schools. This area could perhaps offer a third side to a triangle as a basis for extended and further research in this area.

In regard to using printed records, it is important to bear in mind the many layers at which texts can be interpreted, as Norman Fairclough has done for critical discourse analysis. One example of this is to distinguish between text as 'information', 'argument', 'literary product' and 'discourse'.²⁴ This can involve a conscious decision as to which level of interpretation to use for texts in attempting to understand what they may convey beyond the stated words. It seems likely that many internal memoranda and discussion papers from NGO records and reports of inter-agency meetings as filed in government records should be exposed to a deeper, more insightful analysis because there may often be nuances in the words chosen that were directly decipherable at the time but which may now require more explanation. One example of this approach to

printed records can be seen in the minutes of a VCOAD meeting: 'Mr Thomas had reservations about the phrase "purely educational" and stressed the need for opportunities of involvement for children which called for an approach which was not specifically academic'.²⁵ Without access to the way this statement was made, the emphasis and tone of voice of the speaker, it is difficult to be fully confident in interpreting what was implied at the time by choosing to use the phrase 'purely educational'. The assumption from hindsight is that the issue was related to a choice of schools at a time when grammar and secondary modern schools were largely being converted into comprehensive schools. This seems to be implied by the subsequent use of the word 'academic'. There is, however, the possibility that the word 'educational' was meant to convey other layers of meaning including different theories about young people's involvement and outcomes of their learning. The use of written primary source material is therefore not without difficulties in later interpretation.

The dimension of oral memory is important, because this can add differing layers of understanding to the printed facts from the past. Stephen Ball records an interview where Rhodes Boyson described how the view with hindsight could add explanation to decisions which had not been clearly apparent at the time, saying 'you look at it afterwards and you can see what you've done'.²⁶ In writing about what makes oral history different, John Portelli states that 'oral sources tell us not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did'.²⁷ Oral memory sources provide the researcher into recent history a cross-checking range of evidence to relate to the written records. As the lead focus here is from the NGO sector towards exploring an influence that sector may have had on the official education sector in England, the second main research technique is to map the record of decision making provided by the NGO archives with the recordable memories of people who were involved at the time or who were in the process of becoming involved. The initial stages of oral interviewing have been carried out on a semi-formal basis, asking questions and taking notes, in order to build up a network of

informants. This network includes key Oxfam education personnel like Bill Jackson who set up their Education Department in the mid-1960s, Marieke Clarke who worked for the Department from the mid-1960s and Sally Thomas, the widow of Og Thomas who ran the department during two relevant phases from 1966 to 1970 and from 1974 to 1982. Also within the consultancy network has been Derek Walker, the Education Officer at VCOAD from 1965 until its reconstitution as CWDE in 1977 and beyond. From a more professionally focused dimension, Robin Richardson and David Hicks have been interviewees and correspondents for their roles in the World Studies Projects in the 1970s and 1980s.

The methodological issue here is the choice and range of chosen contact people, as this is a reflection of the field being delimited. Hicks, for example, has pointed out during the consultation process that it is easier to 'establish what the varied influences were from NGO documentation' than 'the *extent* of their influence'. This is because, as he put it, 'unless you also consider the *non*-NGO influences on GE [global education] how can you ascertain the degree of NGO influence?'²⁸ Therefore, the oral testimonies have to be carefully placed in relation to the archival research. At a first level, what people within one organisation like Oxfam recall from memory can be plotted against what the written papers reflect, as a means of heightening the historian's awareness of what is more significant. Bill Jackson reflected that the greatest influence of Oxfam's Education Department may have been on learning about development processes in secondary Geography.²⁹ This was not explicitly stated as an aim in departmental policy papers which remain in the Oxfam archive, as far as I have been able to discover, but it can be used as an illumination for trends that may not have been clearly defined at the time. At a second level of enquiry, following the point made by Hicks above, there is a necessity to put both the archival and the corresponding oral testimony researches into a wider context of understanding. The detection and depiction of one trend makes it possible that many other trends may have been missed or ignored. Therefore every research

outcome has to be recognised in its own context area, with a caveat that the historian may be able to assume a certain truth from a consideration of the evidence but it will only ever be at best a limited form of truth. This research can make no claims to add light to what was actually being taught in secondary schools in England about attitudes towards a changing world beyond those classrooms. It can however help to add some light to understanding what some sections of some NGOs were trying to achieve and a range of ways that some sections of government chose to respond to these. The nature of the retrievable sources, both written and oral, define this essentially restricted viewpoint in trying to understand the past.

As an operational decision, importance has been given to retrievable written sources, with people's memories acting as signposts and checks. This is partly because oral memories are in themselves selective and re-interpreted with hindsight, sometimes long after events have taken place. Related to this, it is likely that the researcher has to try to achieve more neutrality of vision and distance when selecting and using memory texts than printed records, because the memory texts have often been gathered during informal discussions where there may have been leading questions designed to elicit particular aspects of information or particular ways of reviewing the past. As an example of this, an early discussion with Oxfam education personnel, in March 2006, revealed the issue of internal constraints on education awareness work. In summarising research for a conference presentation, I chose to extrapolate this outwards to emphasise external constraints like British charity law. On checking this presentation with the original interviewee, he felt that I was putting too much emphasis on the 'politicisation' of education work. This process of face-to-face discussion followed up with e-mail interchange can be seen in a number of ways. At the level of direct use of memory, the internal tensions were clearly of great importance at the time. At the level of historical interpretation, this may have been influenced by external constraints like the Charity Commission and the awareness of key decision makers within the organisation of these

constraints. The difficulty, as in all selective and interpretive work of this nature, is in deciding why people acted as they did and what were the main influences on their decisions – and beyond that deciding how much that can realistically be recovered and explored decades after the original events. This is why the decision in researching the decision-making processes of NGOs has been to rely mainly on written reports and memoranda as evidence and to use accessible memories as a filter for checking and interpreting what these are conveying.

The use of oral testimonies also raises ethical issues about the ways in which people's words and memories are presented. The process of contacting and inviting people to participate in this research has included personal contacts built on trust. These have been aided by the fact that I am well known in the NGO global education field as a practitioner and colleague over many years. The dimension of trust has been strengthened by the use of introductory letters emphasising that all interviews are for processes of historical research and all uses of testimonies in any written form will be checked with interviewees, who are at liberty to remain anonymous. The records hint at 'cloak and dagger' negotiations and there were certainly personality conflicts and wide differences of opinion, as can be expected in any loosely defined network.³⁰ The aim is to add understanding to processes of change and continuity and the social attitudes which were influencing these during the defined period, not to rekindle animosities. However, research in recent history does make such stirrings possible and the historian has to be careful to remain clearly focused on the wider purposes of the task.

David Bridges has added clarity to the understanding of ethical values when conducting outsider research. He believes that such research is valid because:

The claim '*nothing about us without us*' ought to be an ethical as well as an epistemological truism in educational research as a

statement about the kind of relationship which should obtain between the researcher and participants. It does not however provide a basis for excluding the outsider researcher from genuine and respectful enquiry.³¹

This thesis can be seen as the outcome of insider/outsider research, where having moved outside the practitioner field I have felt it important to demonstrate the 'respectful enquiry' approach advocated by Bridges in contacting and talking with those colleagues and friends who were practitioners in the development and global education field some years before I was.

Overview of research methodology

This thesis relates to educational change in England during a period when the power of teachers and local education authorities was being weakened by a centralising state that was increasingly forcing clarity on the purposes, standards and content of school learning. According to McCulloch et. al.:

... during the 'golden age' of teacher professionalism in England in the 1950s and 1960s, teachers' freedom was constrained by a number of factors, including the organizational demands of the school, over whose goals and administration they had only limited influence.³²

The 1960s and 1970s were also decades of changes in the role of England and the UK in world policy and more specifically on relations with countries seen as 'less developed'. At the intersections of these two processes were NGOs acting in the 'developing' world and learning from it and then progressively deciding that such learning was important to bring nearer home. In order to do this, they set up Education Departments and networks to have some bearing on government decision-making, most visibly through the newly established ODM.

The methodology required to trace this process and its possible effects on education policy making include the creation of a theoretical model for state / voluntary sector interactions and in-depth fieldwork to analyse records of what took place. This latter component requires a sound methodological base to select and highlight key meetings and moments of decision, in relation to the personalities and organisations involved and the forces influencing them. Oral interviews have therefore been used to complement NGO records in order to try and construct a testable narrative of the past and what influences might be seen to have been tried, which were more successful in influencing education policy and why. The process is based on an acknowledgement of the position and values of the researcher in relation to the subject material, eschewing any simplistic idea of history as progress.

Additionally, as a male researcher it has become apparent that many of the people in a position to make a difference to global learning during this period were male as have been most of the informants for oral interviews. This raises a gender perspective in relation to the research methodology, because deeper analysis of documents reveals that there were many women also involved in the field who have left less record of their activities. Statistically and traditionally, the 'caring professions' including the development NGOs tend to have a workforce that is more female than male. It is beyond the reach of this research to explore issues in family life which made it possible for workers like Og Thomas at Oxfam to devote many weekends away from his children developing Oxfam's profile with teachers and advisers at conferences, as reflected on by Sally Thomas during an interview.³³ However it may be important to register who was most freely available to work long hours in this field and some of the domestic reasons for this, in relation to changing perceptions of women's roles in the workforce during the chosen period of study.

It may well be, beyond the borders of this defined research area, that other outcomes were and are possible. A global education movement might have

gained strength from close collaboration between peace educators, development educators and proponents of education for international understanding. Alternatively, the NGO approach to education could have been completely rejected by government and the teaching profession as pro-poor, politicised and not a valid area for learning in the nation's schools. What actually happened seems in historical retro-view to have been a muddled middle position between co-operation and confusion. The methodology adopted is based on this premise; that it is possible to study muddle, as it seemed at the time and as it may still seem today. The essential factor is for the researcher to avoid imposing pre-conceived outcomes and allow the evidence to be sifted through neutral filters. Therefore not much more can be established in response to the research questions laid out in Chapter One beyond a range of specific smaller-scale findings about NGO/state interactions and a more generalised conclusions that the influence of NGOs grew during this period and that some of that influence was in the state education sector.

The final question that could be asked is whether this research area has a wider usefulness, for example in helping to guide present or future decision-making and interaction between the NGOs and relevant government sectors with a concern for global learning in schools. The personal position of the researcher has been considered above and the research process itself has been one of largely withdrawing from the pressured activities of practice towards the more reflective stance of an historical researcher. However, it may well be possible to see in the research conclusions that greater clarity of purpose and higher levels of agreement both within and between organisations can serve as steps towards educational improvement.

References to Chapter Two

- ¹ 'Contested terrain' is the sub-title of Ozga's book on policy research (Ozga, J., 2000). She sees a priority for historical research studies into the 'contested development of state provision, and the struggles about content, access and quality that it encapsulated', page 118.
- ² From Wellington, J. et. al. (2005), page 58.
- ³ This refers to Figure 7.1 on 'Biographical, interactional and contextual factors in decision-making', in Scott, D. (2000), page 81.
- ⁴ Ozga, J. (2000), page 117.
- ⁵ McCulloch, G. (2003) provides a critique of 'virtual history'.
- ⁶ Walford, G. (2001), page 183.
- ⁷ Ball, S. (1994) derives this tradition from Raymond Williams, among others, adding his own caution that "we should not always expect to find policy coherence and should not be surprised to see struggle within the State over the definition and purpose of policy solutions", page 108.
- ⁸ See McCulloch, G. (2007) for issues of national security in relation to British state education.
- ⁹ Griffiths, M. (1998) explores the importance in research of 'our relationship with ourselves as politically positioned and politically active' (page 141), as well as the 'agency of individuals' in the Western tradition (page 142).
- ¹⁰ Scott, D. (1999), pages 1-2.
- ¹¹ Ibid., page 10.
- ¹² Ibid., page 17.
- ¹³ Ibid., page 27.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., page 73.
- ¹⁵ Ibid., page 84.
- ¹⁶ Walford, G. (2001), page 108.
- ¹⁷ Ibid., page 133.
- ¹⁸ McCulloch, G. (2008), page 59.
- ¹⁹ McCulloch, G. and Richardson, W. (2000), pages 85-119.
- ²⁰ Ball, S. (1994), page 117.
- ²¹ In Waring, M. (1979 - a).

²² Wilson, H. (1971), page 10; for more on the setting up of the ODM see Chapter Five.

²³ National Archives: OD24/151.

²⁴ As in Wellington, J. et. al. (2005), page 42. See also Fairclough, N. (2003).

²⁵ Oxfam: DEV4/2/9, 28 April 1967. The context for this meeting is described in Chapter Five, page 109.

²⁶ Ball, S. (1994), page 114.

²⁷ In Perks, R. and Thomson, A. (eds.) (1998), page 67.

²⁸ E-mail correspondence, 12 January 2006.

²⁹ Interview record, 22 March 2006.

³⁰ National Archives: OD10/176 and OD25/207.

³¹ Bridges, D. (2002), page 86.

³² McCulloch, G. et. al. (2000), page 63.

³³ Interview with Sally Thomas and Marieke Clarke, 7 June 2006.

Chapter Three

Conceptual frameworks

This chapter develops a framework for analysing the roles of NGOs and the state in a growing movement for development education in England during the 1960s and 1970s. The framework outlines histories of development education in England within a wider context of external relations with the developing world and of domestic curriculum change. Development education and Oxfam's contribution to its growth is thereby positioned in relation to current trends of study of historiography, civic sector movements and networking theory.¹

In his 'Critique of Modernity', the French philosopher Alain Touraine has invited us to ask ourselves 'what form the return to subjectivity will take now that historicism has been defeated'.² He sees this as the need to conceive of 'new tensions between rationalization and subjectivation' in place of a 'single and totalizing principle'.³ The new subject, in his view, 'exists only in the form of a *social movement*, of a challenge to the logic of order'.⁴ In historical perspective, as a reflection on the period covered in this thesis, Touraine states that:

Since 1968, we have gone through every stage of social change. We have seen the demise of industrial society and of post-historic illusions, and the emergence of the purely liberal project of reconstructing a new society; it is high time we learned to describe and analyse the cultural modes and the social relations and movements that give them a form. It is time to analyse and describe the political elites and the forms of social change that are changing what momentarily looked like a world beyond historicity. If we are to

rediscover the idea of modernity, we must begin by recognizing the existence of a new society and new historical actors.⁵

The context here lies in perceiving links between a changing world and changes in home education. Bernard Porter's recent review of the historiography of imperialist and post-imperialist attitudes provides a clue to this:

If you were a political 'modernizer' – as so many professed to be, from Harold Wilson's governments onwards – the imperial past might even be useful. Imperialism has furnished a convenient scapegoat in recent years to explain racism, economic decline, great-power delusions, Europhobia, and a host of other perceived old-fashioned failings in post-World War II Britain.⁶

Post-colonial attitudes can be seen in retrospect as influencing the way people in England learned to look on the world beyond their borders, in order to come to terms with a shrinking awareness of national importance. This shift in public attitudes must have influenced the way that young people were taught in schools to understand the changing world, although this may have been significantly less than attitude shifts towards the wider world during the inter-war period. During the heyday of empire in the 1930s, the League of Nations was immensely popular in English schools through membership of branches of the League of Nations Union (LNU). In contrast, the successor post World War Two United Nations Association does not seem to have generated such a level of interest.⁷ The social and cultural effects of World War Two have been long-lasting but appear to have influenced popular movements for peace-building and peace education differently. There was no repeat after the War of the huge public support for the Peace Pledge Union (PPU) during the 1930s, although this particular NGO has continued to exist, with limited funding and public interest. What therefore becomes important from an historical perspective is a capacity to see a number of inter-locking and possibly at times competing trends

in public awareness of the changing world order, some or all of which may have influenced what was being taught in schools about the world. Examples of trends include the Suez invasion in 1956 and its aftermath and the growth of protest against nuclear weapons co-ordinated by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). This is the essential area where this research falls: into patterns of interaction through collaboration or competition among NGOs with some intent to influence state schooling, even though this may have been only a small part of their purposes as NGOs.

Movements for global learning

Inspectors from the DES who participated in the 1974 UNESCO Conference in Paris that agreed *Recommendations on Education for International Understanding* identified a broad coalition of organisations that contributed to an emerging movement for global learning in English schools.⁸ A comparison with parallel developments at the time in subject-based learning, like Science (see below), shows that there has always been a fairly high level of consensus about the value of young people in schools learning some kind of science, which was heightened as D. Layton has shown by Cold War rivalry with other countries.⁹ There was never such consensus about the content, skills and values necessary for coherent learning about the world, apart of course from debates on social and economic world understanding within Geography and the Geographical Association. A wider coalition of pacifists advocating education for internationalism and tolerance towards other people with philanthropists advocating education for compassion towards the poor and hungry of the world was in this sense too wide to build, despite the external authority of United Nations bodies, especially the 1974 UNESCO *Recommendations*. International understanding never became identified as a single subject and so, by keeping its whole-curriculum value, may have lost possible sources of support like the formation of a new subject association. By the time that the Development Education Association (DEA) came into being in 1993 this was more of an

alliance of groups external to the teaching profession like NGOs and independent DEC's, and it could be argued that the flexibility for such new initiatives had been lost as a result of the 1988 Education Reform Act.

It is therefore important to trace the chain of decisions that caused the ODM to support school learning about economic development and aid processes in the world separately from support that might have been forthcoming from successive Ministries of Education. The global learning agenda may have been skewed from what could have been a broad coalition to a narrower group of advocates for learning about Third World development. Ian Lister may well have been prescient to observe in 1991 that 'while the time of peace education might have passed, and while the time of environmental-ecological education is now with us, the time of human rights education is yet to come, and significant support from government is still awaited'.¹⁰ Such an analysis assumes that there are broad movements for educational change that are influenced by changing public attitudes and ideologies. The strand of education for tolerance and internationalism advocated consistently by UNESCO can be seen to derive from the strong emphasis from the United Nations on post-war reconstruction. At this time other 'peoples' were largely viewed as ex-allies or enemies and characterised as national groups, like 'the Japs'.¹¹ During the 1960s to 1980s and beyond, this cessation of hostility approach was to a large extent replaced by global concerns for the welfare of the whole planet and its ecology, marked by the appearance of books like Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* and Ernst Schumacher's *Small is Beautiful*.¹² After this, increasing human rights abuses in the world have challenged the early phase of idealism in the setting up of the United Nations and its institutions, combined with a strengthening of instruments like the 1989 *Convention on the Rights of the Child*, which may well be bringing about a new external pressure for increasing human rights education in schools. Seen in this broad historical perspective, it is hard to place the sub-trend for development / aid related education that appeared to flourish under the aegis of

an expanding NGO sector in the same context as the environmental education movement that was developing in the UK and globally during this same period.

Some of the public attitude trends identified during the process of this research are for what have now been labelled as 'international education', 'peace education', 'development education' and 'environmental education', which can be related to 'multicultural education' and 'anti-racist education' as the United Kingdom became an increasingly ethnically diverse society. This itself was a process partly at least caused by the effects of World War Two and the availability of British Citizenship (for a time) to all citizens of the British Empire and Commonwealth. The main hypothesis here is that these awareness-raising trends in British society co-existed through the immediate post-War period having limited effect on schooling exactly because they were not co-ordinated, were not all aimed at the same strata of society and had very limited specific aims to influence school curricula.

By the first United Nations Development Decade in the 1960s this pattern had changed. One main cause of this was the change of identity of a colonised or dependent world, as characterised for example by European powers having 'trusteeship' of colonies, to the new language of 'developing' countries which were given political independence but which were still largely tied into economic controls by the major world powers (sometimes referred to as 'economic' or 'neo-colonialism'). Susan George has had much influence in this area of analysing global economic trends, since the publication of her book *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger* in 1976. More recently, she has described the conservatism of academics in the 1970s reluctant to analyse global causes of poverty or 'study the rich and powerful, not the poor and powerless'.¹³ Derek Heater has also illustrated the position of academics by referring to Geoffrey Elton's defence of learning English history for 'pursuing intellectual ends rather than political and social ends... to train reasoning intelligences rather than supposedly desirable beings – [e.g.] worthy citizens of

the world'.¹⁴ Heater has additionally looked for new or less visible influences on attitudes towards the poor world, including a possible British capacity to show empathy for distant people while ignoring problems of poverty nearer home, as well as drawing on Elise Boulding's analysis of the organisational energy for peace and environmental work coming from women.¹⁵

In this new climate, aid and development charities flourished in the United Kingdom. Oxfam experienced significant growth in its programmes and economic base during the 1960s crises in the Congo and Biafra, while Christian Aid grew into an identifiable organisation from the World Council of Churches Refugee Programme and an annual series of Christian Aid Weeks.¹⁶

It is necessary to define which of the many NGOs may have played key roles in seeking to influence state education provision. The most obvious starting point in determining this is to focus on those organisations that set up identifiable education programmes or departments to target work on schools, especially if they employed paid staff. Oxfam was definitely the lead organisation in the development education field, with a distinct Education and Youth Department and a number of paid full-time regional Education Advisers in important urban bases across the United Kingdom. Others had at least one paid London-based member of staff with responsibility for school and university education, including Christian Aid and SCF. Peace education networks at this time had significantly less funding and probably a more overt public campaigning stance, as it would have been seen at the time to be more difficult to build a curriculum for peace studies in schools – with CND and anti-nuclear and anti-Vietnam public protests high on political agendas – than for the ostensibly safer and less controversial area of world hunger and poverty.¹⁷

A clear analysis of curriculum changes in schools is also important within the framework of this research. There is an identifiable flux between the 1944 political consensus and compromise of the Butler Act with its tripartite structure

for secondary schooling and the changes in thinking, not least stimulated by the Black Papers of the late 1960s and 1970s that led to the overtly right-wing agenda of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) with its creation of a state controlled subject curriculum. In the flux lies the era of teacher and Local Education Authority control over curriculum matters and of scope for improvement and experimentation through the wide range of School Council projects during the later 1960s to the early 1980s. During the chosen period, there was much teacher consideration of learning areas like Social Studies, Integrated Humanities and Environmental Studies, which could well have provided more fertile ground for increasing young people's access to learning about a diverse and changing world than either the pre-Schools Council or post-ERA periods did. This wider frame of curriculum development has an important role in the background of the research.

The issue at stake in the NGO sector is the extent to which organisations acted alone under their own internal pressures, in relation to the extent to which they were able to act in collaboration with other organisations through identifying common causes in order to achieve greater impact on public understanding of the world. Therefore constraints and opportunities in the relation between VCOAD and its largest educational member, Oxfam, are a key to this study. In Heater's view 'Oxfam was a vanguard movement' among organisations involved 'in charitable work for the Third World countries... which, by the 1960s, had evolved supporting educational activities'.¹⁸ Also of importance is the continuing existence of the DES supported CEWC which had some co-ordinating role for the NGO sector during this period (see Chapter Four particularly for how CEWC acquired this role). The range of networks brought into the World Studies Project from its effective start in 1973, including peace, environment and development education, also need detailed consideration, in terms of how these strands or networks overlapped and were able to co-ordinate their educational activities.

The four main global themes of the 1970s-1980s World Studies Projects, according to David Hicks, were derived from the writings of educational theorists in Scandinavia (primarily Johan Galtung) and the United States (including Lee Anderson and Robert Hanvey). These were concerns with violence, injustice, poverty and environmental damage, seen by Hicks in the early 1980s as aspects of Peace Education that differed from previously conceived fields of 'education for international understanding, world studies and development education'.¹⁹ At the same time, the World Studies Project's first director, Robin Richardson was issuing a warning through his use of a fable on 'Elephant Education' against the fragmentation of Peace, Human Rights, Development and Environmental Education (and also Multicultural and Anti-Sexist Education) into separate strands of educational influence which did not relate to each other.²⁰

Also of importance in delineating the boundaries of research is to provide some overview of changes in informal learning for young people, through a range of youth activities that included the established youth movements like the Woodcraft Folk, the youth sections of political parties and campaigning organisations like CND and The Movement for Colonial Freedom, as well as those inspired by development NGOs like Youth against Hunger. There was always a perceived line between what was acceptable for youth groups (in terms of active campaigning) and what was acceptable for learning in schools (in defence against perceived indoctrination). This issue was clearly raised by Oxfam's Education Officer, Og Thomas, in an article in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1968 putting the case for values in education, helping young people in schools not only to better understand the outside world but also to change it for the better.²¹ This tension could be portrayed as the NGO sector seeking to act as an agent of change with, at national level, the government acting as a gatekeeper deciding the extent to which such proposed change could be permitted to enter into schools.

Histories of development education

Commentary on the historical origins of development education as a discernible movement could begin with the UNESCO report on *The Changing World in the Classroom* which identified the movement for the United Kingdom in 1974, even though it was not able to predict whether it would have any permanence (see Chapter Seven). At an international level, UNICEF started to produce 'Development Education Papers' from the mid-1970s, which by 1978 could analyse the trend in terms of:

... education has come to the forefront in important aspects of development thinking. Beginning with the dissatisfaction of some agencies that their publicity campaigns did little to change basic attitudes, and that a longer-term orientation both to the realities of the developing countries and the inter-relationships between socio-political and economic processes in and between groups, developed and developing, was urgently needed, a movement began to emerge. A major step was taken in 1970 when the AD [Action for Development] section of the FAO held a consultation on 'Development Education: the schools open to the Third World', and the aims of Development Education were defined as preparation of today's children to understand and take part in the development process; otherwise they as individuals will be as badly deprived as society in general.²²

Writing almost ten years later, Thierry Lemaesquier agreed that the international origins of a movement for development education started 'around 1970' through a 'series of convergent influences' which included disillusion that the first Development Decade which had just ended had not resulted in higher levels of public awareness of Third World poverty, the return of volunteers from the poorer countries of the world to richer countries in the 'yet unperturbed era of

economic growth, the liberation theology of the churches and the youth radicalism of the late 1960s'.²³

These writings about development education help to place it as a broad, largely European social and educational movement. The main agencies promoting it were within the United Nations system, particularly the Rome-based FAO. Main supporting countries investing in it were in northern Europe, notably the Netherlands and Sweden. People and organisations promoting development education in the United Kingdom drew from this wider framework, creating distinctive national versions of it. The key analytical documents for the historical process were Stephen Arnold's 1987 paper on 'Constrained Crusaders' and following from this the more recent academic research by Ann McCollum in 1996 and Harriet Marshall in 2005.

Arnold was a researcher from the School of International Studies in Washington DC, evaluating the British scene. His paper has been seen as a seminal text for understanding the intricacies of NGO support for an educational movement, although his concept of 'constraint' had already been commented on from within the British NGO sector.²⁴ Arnold identified networks of organisations which made up what he called the 'development education system' in the United Kingdom.²⁵ By plotting the tensions and political constraints on these movements, he concluded that 'pursuing development education within the charities is a risky business' because of the limitations on their activities in the field of raising public awareness.²⁶ Part of the operational problem Arnold identified was that each charity involved was 'so busy communicating its vision to its supporters' that they had difficulty in seeing what other charities were doing. It was therefore difficult to create 'long-term, institutionalized coordination efforts among the charities, or with other groups in the country that have similar interests', including natural allies in the environmental movement.²⁷ In Arnold's view, the British NGOs deserved credit for sustaining a movement on 'woefully inadequate resources' so that increased government financial support could

help. However, he identified strategic decisions within the NGOs as key to progress, particularly by asking the extent of limitations they could be able to impose on their own positions in pursuit of wider influence: 'how much compromise of the development education message is acceptable in the search for larger coalitions?'²⁸ What Arnold's paper contributed to understanding of the emergence of a movement for development education in England during the 1970s was in his recognition of the internal complexities of the NGO sector and therefore its limited capacity to act in a co-ordinated framework to achieve greater educational impact. This is illustrated particularly in Chapter Five on the role of VCOAD as a co-ordinating body.

Ann McCollum's PhD thesis on the theory and practice of development education in the 1990s (McCollum, 1996) had a limited historical section because the main focus was to identify contemporary trends within the development education movement. McCollum paralleled the analysis of the movement's origins made by R. Burns and T. Lemareshquier (see above) in citing T. Brodhead's 1986 article on 'Development Education and Northern Governments'. Brodhead also depicted the combination of forces around 1970 that created the concept of development education, including 'the catalytic role played by certain UN agencies, particularly the Freedom from Hunger Campaign of FAO'.²⁹ McCollum also directly linked the emergence of development education in rich countries to colonial attitudes, citing C. Foubert's 1986 article on 'Working in partnership with the Third World':

Could it be that the present concept of development education still remains too entangled in its rather questionable roots in fundraising appeals and a semi-colonial and paternalistic vision of the Third World?³⁰

This is linked to a 1982 article by P. Pradervand which identified four key features of the European movement: middle class origin, church and missionary

roots, level of state intervention and the crucial role of NGOs. In countries like the United Kingdom where state intervention was relatively weak, the NGOs were playing the main role in sustaining the movement through 'grassroots development education work' at local levels.³¹ The earliest source referred to by McCollum is J. Lissner's 1977 article on 'The Politics of Altruism' which highlighted tensions for NGOs between fundraising and education as an 'uneasy choice' which had caused a 'rather lively (and at times tense) debate' within NGOs 'about their educational responsibility in the high-income countries'.³² To illustrate this, McCollum referred to the resignation of Nicholas Stacey as Oxfam's Deputy Director after his proposal to change the organisation 'primarily into an education and lobbying body' had been rejected by the Director and Council (see Chapter Five). Therefore Oxfam had decided to add development education 'onto the old agenda' rather than undertake a fundamental policy change focused on influencing public opinion, and Christian Aid had followed suit.³³

McCollum used Foucault's terminology to dismiss much of this preceding analysis as statements of 'banal facts', believing that what was needed was a deeper historical awareness of the present circumstances. The aim of her research was to attempt to bring development education in from the margins through highlighting the fragmenting role of internal forces rather than broader social and political constraints. Therefore her historical perspective on the movement can be seen to be selective in its own terms, designed to highlight NGO weaknesses. She summarised this perceived change from the time of origin up to the time of the research as:

In the 1970s development education was viewed as a subversive force and the concepts and methods which development education embraced were new and largely unknown. Today however "The argument for having global perspectives in the school curriculum has been accepted by social educators" (Lister, 1987, p. 59) and

also active learning methods and student centred learning are now popular educational practices which are widely used in schools.³⁴

This case is not totally convincing for building a coherent historical perspective because it conflates development education with global learning, a term which grew in prominence from the 1990s onwards while development education could be said to have started a decline.

To support her thesis, McCollum's field research focused on a number of local DEC's stating her own view that 'the heart of development education lies with the centres'. The future of the movement according to McCollum lay with the strengthening of these local centres 'independently of but in co-operation with the aid agencies'.³⁵ This may well have represented a perceived reality in the late 1990s but it does create a retrospective danger that the important role of the agencies in supporting the origins of the movement and in particular the earliest DEC's could become less visible. McCollum did recognise the NGOs' 'problematic and ambiguous relationship with development education', but again perhaps taking this approach endangers a deeper understanding of their creative and originating role in the growth of the movement during the 1960s and 1970s.³⁶ In the section on 'The Evolution of the Development Education Movement' in Britain, McCollum provided an analysis of how the shift from aid agencies to development agencies implied a recognition that development required political action which could conflict with NGOs' legally apolitical status, stating that 'whilst voluntary agencies are intrinsically political they must adopt a non political veneer'.³⁷ However, no sources from within the British NGOs are given in evidence of this. Instead, McCollum's thesis chose to focus on wider influences like the work of Paulo Freire. A result of this approach is that internal analyses of NGO dilemmas in relation to development education strategy are largely missing and in need of further research, as my thesis attempts to provide.

Harriet Marshall has recently provided a field analysis of the origins, growth and present context for global education in England.³⁸ In her thesis, she identified two intersecting recontextualizing fields as *official* (ORF) and *pedagogic* (PRF) in order to provide a model for how the professional world of education interacts with government decision making for education.³⁹ To this model she identified and added a third recontextualizing field as *unofficial* (URF) for the role of non-government organisations involved in developing the scope of global education through interaction with the ORF and PRF. Having conceptualised global education in this way, she applied the model back to its historic emergence in England as 'A Field Emerges: 1940s-1980s'.⁴⁰ The difficulty in this way of assessing history through a ready formulated backward look is that it is by no means certain that there was anything as clearly identifiable as an unofficial field for global education emerging in England at this time. My initial research interviews with URF practitioners have shown rather a disparate range of aims and purposes, characterised by both Robin Richardson (director of the World Studies Project during the 1970s) and Derek Walker (education officer of VCOAD from the 1960s onwards) as more marked by disagreements than agreements on a common purpose.⁴¹ The detailed fieldwork that follows shows that there certainly could have been a field that required leadership and effective co-ordination, but that this did not happen in reality largely because of centrifugal forces pulling NGOs active in global education more away from each other than together, despite numerous shared educational initiatives.

Marshall's identification of three intersecting fields for global education is however helpful for constructing a simplifying model for the emergence of development education up to the 1980s. This new model attempts to provide a more politicised view of the movement in relation to how 'conformist' to official positions or how 'radical' in opposing official positions its constituent members can be seen to have been.

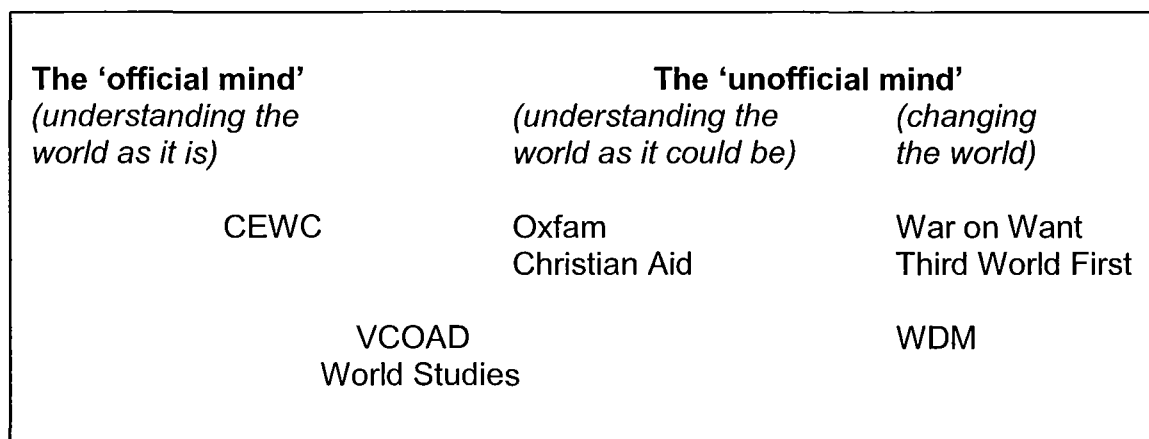


Fig. 2: Mapping fields for development education.

In the diagram, the 'official mind' represents the trend in global learning closest to the DES position, which was Education for International Understanding (EIU) with CEWC the NGO most closely associated with this. The 'unofficial mind' represents the emerging trend for development education with its belief in learning for change. This has been sub-divided into NGOs more directly involved in public lobbying and campaigning for fairer and better aid like War on Want from those which chose to operate closer to official positions through involvement in schools like Oxfam and Christian Aid. Organisations with a more networking role like VCOAD and, from the mid 1970s, the World Studies Project have been mapped in a bridging position between 'world understanding' and 'world changing' positions. This is only a model: its implications are explored in more depth in the fieldwork chapters. It has been constructed with reference to similar models created by Robert Sylvester for international understanding and Robin Richardson for World Studies and development education, in a more British frame of reference.⁴² Sylvester has mapped political positioning of thinkers and organisations, while Richardson's modelling shows ranges of positions on both 'development' and 'education' (see Chapter Seven). It does seem important to try and achieve some dimension of political mapping for a movement like development education, as this can help to clarify the range of positions within a field. However, Sylvester, Richardson and myself also see the

necessity of mapping along at least one other axis of interpretation. For this thesis, my own position is to try and achieve an axis for public and state interaction, between the NGO sector of influence and the capacities of Government Ministries to respond to or resist this.

Barriers to curriculum change

One research question in the area of curriculum theory is whether the pressure groups and voluntary organisations mapped in the above table had any real and lasting influence on state education provision. Or did they, as is common in NGO sectors of civil society more generally, represent both a splintered and a largely ineffective focus for increasing public and professional awareness?

Sociologists of education have provided education researchers with a language and framework for analysing how social values influence educational provision, as for example through understanding how school curricula reconstruct and represent the explicit and implicit values of a society. In a United States context, Michael Apple has built on this field to explore in depth how the expressed democratic values of 'American' society have been interpreted through what is provided for teaching in schools. His book on *Ideology and Curriculum* has now had three editions (third edition 2004) with an updating of his curriculum analysis reflecting value shifts in the United States. This is most evident in the additional chapter to the third edition on 'Pedagogy, Patriotism and Democracy' exploring the effects on social education of the September 11 attacks.

Apple's main thesis is that schools 'contribute significantly to the ideological underpinnings that serve to fundamentally orient individuals toward an unequal society'.⁴³ In other words, school curricula should be seen in the context of wider economic realities where an expressed belief in the values of democracy may cover a hidden curriculum that promotes the interests of richer and more powerful members of society and denies the interests of less powerful members,

like blacks, *latinos* and women. This may in turn lead to a 'soft' level of global awareness that does not face up to realities and does not allow the poorer members of global society to have their own voice, through 'the selective tradition in official knowledge and in the world beyond our borders that the news portrays', so that:

Even where there have been gains in the school curriculum – environmental awareness provides a useful example - these have been either adopted in their safest forms or they fail to internationalize their discussions.⁴⁴

Therefore, a seemingly progressive trend like multicultural education 'does not interrupt the power of whiteness as "the human ordinary"' as 'one of the ways in which existing power relations recuperate oppositional movements back within dominance'.⁴⁵ So in a society where democratic political values have shifted from political to economic interpretations, citizens are regarded more as consumers and schools become like 'commodities where everything is bought and sold'.⁴⁶ If Apple's analysis has validity and is transferable to an English context, a sociological approach to the history of curriculum change in England can provide a useful theoretical framework for this study.

In a specifically English context, the events of the Callaghan years that include the *Yellow Book*, the Ruskin Speech and the Great Debate seem to mark a shift from a more politically determined debate about the proper content of education to a more economically determined one, as signified for example by Callaghan's emphasis in his Ruskin speech of 1976 on the importance of young people learning for the world of work – in contradistinction to the influences for citizenship education that were evident in an NGO like the Association for Education in Citizenship before and immediately after the Second World War.⁴⁷ In the historical overview provided by W. Carr and A. Hartnett, this shift was

reflected by the writers of the *Black Papers* and firmly established by the Conservative administrations that succeeded the Callaghan government:

The transformation to the dominant discourse of education that occurred in the 1980s was, then, an indispensable part of the process whereby a political ideology that had legitimized a conception of education which emphasized the development of the 'whole person' was replaced by a political ideology that sustained a conception of education which emphasized its economic role in training an efficient workforce, creating a culture of entrepreneurship and enterprise, and fostering a positive view of industry and wealth creation.⁴⁸

These writers trace how the oil crisis of 1973 impacted on education in England, as did nostalgia for return to British greatness which was part of the rise of the New Right and consequent attack on teacher professionalism.⁴⁹ This can be evidenced by the over-arching reach of the 1988 ERA which claimed a wide range of new powers for the Minister of Education and led to the setting up of a highly centralised National Curriculum for England and Wales where the earlier tradition had been to leave the 'secret garden' of curriculum matters to education professionals in the inspectorate, local authorities, professional associations, teacher training colleges and schools.⁵⁰ A semi-autonomous, teacher dominated body like the Schools Council was disbanded and replaced by curriculum bodies more firmly under the nomination and control of the central government.⁵¹

Sally Tomlinson has summarised this interpretation of ideological shift in English education during the 1970s as returning education to its role as 'an allocator of occupations, a defender of traditional academic values, teaching respect for authority, discipline, morality and "Englishness"'.⁵² Other analyses of political influences on state education have traced the effects of changing economic and ideological positions on curriculum provision. The tri-partite decision making

structure affirmed by the 1944 Butler Act and continued through a political consensus up to the mid 1970s shared control between the teaching profession, local authorities and central government, with the LEAs having a key role in what was being taught in their schools. During this time, there was 'little party political input, and very few pressure groups with an interest in education'.⁵³ Such analyses trace the rise of the New Right and how centralising control of the curriculum from the mid 1970s through to the 1988 Education Reform Act concerned debates about heritage and national identity, as well as over standards, discipline and attacks on progressivism and teacher autonomy.⁵⁴

The task here is to attempt to bring together a range of pathways in recent research in historical sociology.⁵⁵ In 1980, Denis Lawton produced a table showing levels of curricular decision-making, ranging from individual pupil teacher relations up to national bodies like the Schools Council and Assessment of Performance Unit (APU).⁵⁶ Stepher Ball's subsequent work on the politics of the curriculum has provided a range of other models to show external influences on the curriculum and different groups involved in 'struggles over school knowledge' including those that were more 'subject-orientated' including the 'cultural restorationists' and those that were more 'integrationist'.⁵⁷ Ball also refers to the debate over World Studies and Roger Scruton's published attack on this, summarising this as 'Most of this writing concentrates on the issue of the alleged political bias in areas of recent curriculum development like peace studies, urban studies, world studies and also health education'.⁵⁸ More general studies of the changing curriculum in English schools show that public attitudes as represented particularly by the mass media impact on thinking about what should be taught in schools.⁵⁹

Peter Cunningham's study shows ways that the trend of progressivism in English education – and the reactions against it – affected primary schools.⁶⁰ There seems to be little similar evidence on ways that trends for deconstructing 'imperial mentalities' influenced secondary subject teaching. Our understanding

could be aided through the construction of a historical sociology table similar to Ball's to show attitudinal differences in post-colonial educational thinking in England, derived from a range of sources:

- *Secretary of State / State bureaucrats* (DES & HMI)
- *New Right Cultural Restorationists* (traditional / heritage perspectives on the wider world)
- *New Progressives* (post-colonial / modernist perspectives on the wider world).

The work of Herbert Kliebard on the American curriculum provides a useful comparative dimension for understanding interest groups competing to influence curriculum provision. Kliebard depicted four social movements that influenced the growth of the US curriculum from the end of the nineteenth century: *humanists, developmentalists, the social efficiency movement and social meliorists*. In relation to tracing the rise of development education in England, Kliebard's groupings could be seen as broadly similar to the *internationalists, globalists, nationalists and third worldists* presented in this thesis, even though the key people involved in each movement at the time may not have used such terminology.⁶¹

In this analysis, a continuing trend of internationalism impacting on the curriculum in British state schools, inherited from the LNU and other non-government education groups, had been existence since the 1920s and 1930s. A changed world order from the 1950s onwards led to differing emphases for learning about the world from a globalising group of educational activists represented by the World Studies Projects of the 1970s and 1980s. This caused a reaction especially from educationists on the political right who presented the case for a stronger national emphasis in approaching learning about the world – a social trend that could be described as continuing from the 1970s reaction up to the debates over National Curriculum history during the 1990s. From the

World Studies initiatives and with the increasing growth and public influence of the non-government aid organisations, a trend for understanding the 'Third World' and acting to change economic imbalances can be seen to have been emerging from origins in the 1960s.

In relation to this study, much emphasis has been put on the role of the Labour Party in government, especially during 1964-1970 and 1974-1979. Some reference has been made (in Chapter Four) to the Conservative Party in government during the 1950s to early 1960s phase of decolonisation and disinterested support for EIU. Some reference has also been made (in Chapters Six and Seven) to the Conservative Party in government during 1970-1974 and (in Chapter Nine) after 1979. Distinctions have been drawn between an earlier tradition for consensus on public welfare policies and positions taken by the New Right in opposition to 'Peace Studies', 'World Studies' and progressive teaching approaches more generally.

As a parallel example, it is useful to study the changing status of a more established school subject. The development of science education in the United Kingdom was influenced by the formation of a professional association, the Association for Science Education (ASE). This impacted both on the nature of the science curriculum in schools and the professional formation of science teachers. Such change was brought about, in the view of the ASE's first woman chairman, by 'a group of PEOPLE with common interests, common problems and common aims, pursued in a spirit of friendship sufficiently strong to welcome and survive sharp differences of opinion'.⁶² These differences were partly a matter of strategy, 'recognising the political nature of curriculum decisions' in response to diverse other sources of initiatives that included during the 1960s and 1970s the Nuffield Foundation, the Ministry of Education's Curriculum Review Group and (from 1964) the Schools Council. Within the decision making structures of the Schools Council, the teacher unions had at first more influence than the professional subject associations like the ASE,

although these gained more influence during the 1970s. Seen from the perspective of science education, the Schools Council had 'all the appearances of a permanent feature on the educational landscape', with the existence of subject associations possibly contributing to strengthening subject boundaries 'making more difficult the construction of, and acquisition of status by, new organizations of knowledge'.⁶³ This adds light to the complex nature of curriculum development during this period, described in a Nuffield Science project report in 1964 as 'the intricate and tangled pattern of organization which constitutes the English school system' where 'it is extremely difficult to determine where the main responsibility for curriculum development lies' because of the 'complexity of influences' that bore on the school science curriculum.⁶⁴

In the climate of the 1960s and 1970s there were other, less visible barriers to NGO penetration into the school system and curriculum. These included Local Education Authority and advisory guidance to teachers and teachers' own professionalism in deciding the appropriate content and values for classroom learning. NGOs like Oxfam and Christian Aid may well have been seen as worthy, non-political and nationally valuable organisations but their image of fundraising and information making to help the poorest world citizens often ran against this and made schools wary of too close an involvement with them. This is a field for much further analysis but it does suggest why development education as inspired and supported from the NGO sector has had far less of an easy entry to the school system than more easily understandable and acceptable movements for changing global awareness like environmental causes and even World Studies.

Conclusions on the rise of development education

The hypothesis here is that the development agenda had a major influence in the field of global learning in England during the 1960s and 1970s, with a first

line of enquiry being into Oxfam and partner organisations within the VCOAD forum, including Christian Aid, War on Want and VCOAD itself. This can be compared with the relatively weak influence of related movements for peace and human rights education. The research scope has been consciously restricted to the area of internationally-minded NGOs and related areas of UK Government with relevance to public awareness raising and education.

This is both an historical and an educational study. From one side it draws on and seeks to extend dimensions of historical study encompassed by works like Howe's on *The Left and the End of Empire* which helped to clarify a range of UK political attitudes towards the process of decolonisation.⁶⁵ From another side, it draws on publishing and initiatives in the education sector designed to promote teachers' understanding of possibilities for increasing learning for international understanding, like the 1974 *London Educational Review* produced by educators based at the University of London Institute of Education including Lionel Elvin and James Henderson.⁶⁶

In between these poles of research are the initiatives of the globally-minded NGOs. Within the limitations for politicised awareness raising (or awareness raising seen in some sectors to have been politicised) it is important for the historian to try and detect what were the aims and aspirations of people at the time, by exploring key areas of enquiry like what were the purposes for NGOs in setting up educational staff teams or departments. Were these designed to provide information from field experience to pupils and their teachers, or was there a wider vision in place at the time that the NGOs were in a position to improve educational practice and influence processes for deciding what should be taught in schools about a changing world? What distinction can usefully be made between seeing this as a potentially implicit process – in other words as an unintended outcome of decisions to enter the educational arena within the home country – as opposed to setting forth such aims from the outset? What were the forces within government and within the educational profession itself

that would have been acting as supports or blockages for such apparently charitable initiatives?

If these organisations are, or are publicly seen to be, driven by a sense of rightness – or mission – to what extent are teachers, advisers and professional educators likely to find that acceptable?⁶⁷ If this is an issue of importance in today's educational world, then how useful is it for an historian to explore and share tentative findings about the formative phase of this process and how people at the time reacted to it? What lies outside this area of questioning has to be a concern for other research, with the hope that what is contained here may be of some help with future lines of enquiry.

References to Chapter Three

¹ For civic sector movements in the United Kingdom, see Manley, R. (1992) and more theoretically Rose, F. (1997). For the DANGO archive on NGO history, see note 9 in Chapter One. Recent developments in networking theory include Dorn, C. (2006).

² Touraine, A. (1995), page 87.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Ibid., page 235.

⁵ Ibid., page 253.

⁶ Porter, B. (2004), page 5. Porter both develops and challenges the pioneering work of John MacKenzie and colleagues at Manchester University in examining the effects on home culture and education of the British Empire, initiated by MacKenzie's book on propaganda and empire (Mackenzie, J., 1984).

⁷ On the LNU in schools and the popularity of Arthur Mee's magazines linked to the movement, see Elliott, B. (1977). On the history of UNA-UK see Frank Field's 2006 pamphlet '60 Years of UNA-UK' at www.una.org.uk/history.

⁸ National Archives ED121/1197; MacKay and White memorandum. For more detailed reference to this, see Chapter Seven.

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- ⁹ Layton, D. (1984), page 229. See also Waring, M. (1979 – a and b) on the Nuffield Foundation Science Teaching Project.
- ¹⁰ From Ian Lister's chapter on 'The challenge of human rights for education' in Starkey, H. (ed.) (1991), page 246.
- ¹¹ James, H. and Tenen, C. (1953), page 115.
- ¹² *Silent Spring* was first published in 1962; *Small is Beautiful* in 1973.
- ¹³ George, S. (1976) *passim* and (2004), page 211.
- ¹⁴ Heater, D. (1990), with reference to Elton's *The Practice of History* (1967) on page 243.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid.*, page 298, and with reference to Boulding, E. (1988) on page 327.
- ¹⁶ On Oxfam's growth and development, see Black, M. (1992); for Christian Aid, see Lacey, J. (1970).
- ¹⁷ This claim is based partly on my own experience of the diverse membership of Peace Education networks, as well as personal experience shared with me by the Peace Pledge Union archivist, Bill Hetherington, in e-mail correspondence in December 2006.
- ¹⁸ Heater, D. (1990), page 153.
- ¹⁹ Hicks, D. (1991), page 38.
- ²⁰ Richardson, R. (1984), pages 115-123.
- ²¹ Thomas, O. (1968). For more detailed information on this, see Chapter Five.
- ²² Burns, R. (1978), page 7.
- ²³ Lemaesquier, T. (1987), page 190.
- ²⁴ One example of acknowledging the influence of Arnold's paper is in Sinclair, S. (1994), page 51. For an earlier use of the idea of constraints on charity action, see Hutchinson, A. (1980).
- ²⁵ Arnold, S. (1987).
- ²⁶ *Ibid.*, page 29 (in the later University of Sussex reprinted version of Arnold's article).
- ²⁷ *Ibid.*, page 29.
- ²⁸ *Ibid.*, page 30.
- ²⁹ McCollum, A. (1996), page 3, citing from *Development Education: The State of the Art* (Non-Government Liaison Service, Geneva, 1986), pages 121-122.
- ³⁰ *Ibid.*, citing from NGLS 1986 (as above), page 122.
- ³¹ *Ibid.*, page 4, citing Pradervand, P. (1982).
- ³² *Ibid.*, page 4, citing Lissner, J. (1977).

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- ³³ Ibid., page 5.
- ³⁴ Ibid., page 7, citing Lister, I. on 'Global and international approaches in political education', in Harber, C. (ed.) (1987).
- ³⁵ Ibid., page 10.
- ³⁶ Ibid., page 17.
- ³⁷ Ibid., page 19.
- ³⁸ Marshall, H. (2005).
- ³⁹ Ibid., page 31.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., pages 96-107.
- ⁴¹ Interview and correspondence with Robin Richardson, February 2005; interview and correspondence with Derek Walker, May 2006.
- ⁴² Sylvester, R. (2002); Richardson, R. personal papers (undated).
- ⁴³ Apple, M. (3rd ed. 2004), page 95.
- ⁴⁴ Ibid., page 161.
- ⁴⁵ Ibid., page 179.
- ⁴⁶ Ibid., page 186.
- ⁴⁷ Whitmarsh, G. (1974), pages 133-142. See also McCulloch, G. (1994).
- ⁴⁸ Carr, W. and Hartnett, A. (1996), page 21. This is clearly still in reference to academic education for a social elite.
- ⁴⁹ Ibid., page 124. See also, Becher, T. and Maclure, S. (1978) and Whitty, G. and Young, M. (eds.) (1976).
- ⁵⁰ Lawton, D. (1978), inaugural lecture.
- ⁵¹ Carr, W. and Hartnett, A. (1996), page 163. See also Chitty, C. (1989) on the victory of the new right.
- ⁵² Tomlinson, S. (2001), page 22.
- ⁵³ Dale, R. (1989), page 97.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., page 92 on 'moral regeneration of a nation'. See also Ball, S. (1990), page 11, on 'heritage' versus 'multiculturalism'; also Callaghan, D. (2006).
- ⁵⁵ McCulloch, G. and Richardson, W. (2000), pages 52-57.
- ⁵⁶ Lawton, D. (1980), page 135.
- ⁵⁷ Ball, S. (1990), pages 131 and 212. Roy Lowe's recent book on progressive education (Lowe, R., 2007) has extended the debate about external influences on the curriculum.

⁵⁸ Ibid., page 47. For Roger Scruton's pamphlet, see Scruton, R. (1985).

⁵⁹ Cunningham, P. (1988); Evans, N. (2005).

⁶⁰ Cunningham, P. (1988).

⁶¹ Kliebard, H. (1995).

⁶² Frances Eastwood, quoted in Layton, D. (1984), page 292.

⁶³ Ibid., pages 280-289.

⁶⁴ Ibid., page 252.

⁶⁵ Howe, S. (1993).

⁶⁶ Andrews, R. (1974).

⁶⁷ See the recent article by Liam Gearon on problems for teachers in working with NGOs (Gearon, L., 2006).

Chapter Four

World understanding up to 1960

This chapter traces the background to the emergence of organisations and networks advocating learning about Third World development in the 1960s. This is done through analysing relations between the Ministry of Education and 'world-minded' educational organisations during the 1950s. The activities of CEWC and other groups mean that there was a platform of support for internationally-orientated learning in schools in England, on which Oxfam and other NGOs could build a more focused field for development education.

Government and the NGO sector in the 1950s

The Ministry of Education, in fulfilment of its UN commitments, promoted the celebration of United Nations Days in schools. From 1955 this was amplified through the setting up of Circular 294 as a source of information about support organisations and their learning materials for schools. The expressed purpose of the circular, in internal memos and letters sent to possible contributing international organisations like the British International Society and the Western European Union was a:

... tentative suggestion that it might be possible to issue an annual document giving any information we wanted to about all international bodies and also about the colonies. This would replace the present annual circular on United Nations Day but would issue at the same time and make that the first item.¹

The internal Ministry debate about Circular 294 shows the importance of avoiding a fixed position in relation to any particular non-government organisations. In the Minister's hope that 'during the following week teachers will take the opportunity of making special reference in the course of their work to the activities of the United Nations and the Specialised Agencies', it was possible to avoid recommending more than this to teachers.² The internal debate considered 'the extent to which we can include entirely independent bodies'. The Ministry relied on CEWC, as its 'affiliate' NGO for education in international understanding, to provide the relevant information, filmstrips and posters for this. CEWC was considered to be an acceptable body because it was in receipt of a 'small grant' from the Ministry. But this discussion did give rise to the question of 'the extent to which we should vet the material listed'.³

Ronald Morrison wrote from the Ministry in February 1955 to Anthony Haigh at the Cultural Relations Department of the Foreign Office to give his view that:

It would not in our view be appropriate to bombard authorities and schools with a constant succession of Circulars giving information about a number of individual bodies or occasions.⁴

By August of 1955, D. King had been assigned to draft the Circular, writing a personal letter to the Secretary of CEWC, Terence Lawson, for advice.⁵ After this, the drafted Circular was submitted to J. O. Roach for his comments on it 'with an eye to possible political difficulty'. Roach's memo highlights a concern that 'someone may ask for the inclusion of Empire Day' in a climate when, apart from the League of Empire Loyalists, Government was keen to give focus to Commonwealth rather than Imperial ways of seeing Britain's role in the world. Roach stressed that 'to deflect any attack on the ground that the document introduces politics', it should be careful to make teachers aware that any materials referred to beyond those directly in support of United Nations Day and related activities should be seen as 'being included for the convenience of

teachers who wish for information, not as being “useful” or “important”.”⁶ His summary provides an important insight into the Ministry position at this time on giving any support to this branch of learning. He saw the document as ‘right and necessary’ because ‘we do virtually nothing to implement officially our cultural obligations’ to our European allies:

Their educational systems mostly determine the curriculum from the centre, and an order from a Ministry of Education to teach the nation’s obligations may be with them a commonplace... We shall be able to face our friends more comfortably when we can show that we are helping to make the material available to schools.... The Ministry can supply information, or show where it can be got, while still leaving the individual teacher to decide on his own initiative whether or not to communicate his nation’s commitments to his pupils... Our duty and our obligations to the British community of nations is even older and clearer. Men of all political complexions might agree that while we have colonies, it is our duty to be informed about them.⁷

Circular 294 was duly sent to schools in September 1955, with annual updates until 1970 when the sequence stopped.⁸ It signifies a first tentative step by the Ministry of Education into the not very secret garden of international voluntary organisations, particularly those whose function at the time was to support the new United Nations world order, NATO and the Western Alliance. Therefore the kind of education for international understanding that the Ministry was prepared to support was that most closely related to Britain’s new diplomatic and geo-political role in the world. The Circular had come about through liaison with the Foreign Office and this had involved some debate over where responsibility for raising awareness of Britain’s role in the world lay.

An example of a member of this loose network of world-minded educational organisations brought together by the Ministry of Education Circular 294 is the Commonwealth Institute. The Institute was rising in popularity with schools and teachers during the later 1950s, as interest in the Commonwealth itself was increasing. This placed the Institute in a unique position among the other organisations, as it was directly supported by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and therefore was constitutionally different for non-government organisations interested in global learning. The stated purpose of the Commonwealth Institute was 'to foster the interests of the Commonwealth by information and education services designed to promote among all its peoples a wider knowledge of one another and a greater understanding of the Commonwealth itself'.⁹ The Education Committee of the Imperial Institute had continued to meet during the 1950s, until the Institute was renamed as the Commonwealth Institute and acquired larger premises in Kensington in 1958. This opened to the public in 1962 and for the next four decades offered exhibitions and talks about Commonwealth countries to visiting school parties. Exhibitions were owned and directed by member countries.

The Education Committee of the Commonwealth Institute included both the Ministry of Education and the National Union of Teachers, through its General Secretary Sir Ronald Gould. At the February 1956 meeting there was a discussion of 'ways of promoting Commonwealth studies in schools'.¹⁰ By November 1960, the Committee was planning a conference on 'The place of Commonwealth Studies in the curriculum'.¹¹ Therefore, by the end of the 1950s, the Commonwealth Institute was becoming a recognisable influence in the global education sector but its main support to teachers came after this. The *Commonwealth Institute Journal* was set up in 1963 to 'provide a useful tool for members of the teaching profession throughout the Commonwealth'.¹² During the 1960s it contained articles on topical issues for schools, including 'The Commonwealth and its Place in Education' in 1963 and 'New Perspectives on Race Relations in Great Britain' in 1969. The Commonwealth Institute attracted

powerful educational representatives onto its Education Committee and many people who were at school during the latter decades of the twentieth century recall the excitement of visiting the building in Kensington with its colourful exhibitions. The Institute's educational activities can be viewed as designed to promote tolerance and understanding of the many different nations that make up the Commonwealth. By the late 1990s, the FCO was no longer willing to continue funding the Commonwealth Institute and member countries withdrew support, so that first the Institute in Edinburgh then the one in London were closed to the public and exhibition materials mainly put in the trust of the new, independent Empire and Commonwealth Museum in Bristol. The Commonwealth Institute continues to run a small office in London, linked with the Commonwealth Society and centres of Commonwealth research in Cambridge and the University of London. Recent histories of the role of the Commonwealth in British life and attitudes towards the world have ranged between seeing it as an extension of the British Empire by other means to a missionary view of a world cause for racial harmony.¹³

Teachers involved directly or indirectly in developing the field of multicultural education in schools could certainly have looked to the Commonwealth Institute for support, with a ready supply of visual materials to show the excitement and positive nature of learning about other countries. Against this, there was too much specific and too fact-based information available about individual member countries. Therefore, an overall assessment of this wave for multicultural global learning has to relate to rising racism within the United Kingdom and the value of learning about mechanisms and beliefs for global tolerance like the Commonwealth to challenge that. On these terms, the history of the waxing and waning of the Commonwealth Institute's educational programmes is only a small part of a story that would also need to look at the National Front and the Anti-Nazi League in English public life as well as the National Association for Multicultural Education and the anti-racist Geography movement closer to the profession.¹⁴

In summary, the Ministry of Education was prepared to give limited support to organisations promoting world-minded education in schools, in line with perceived national obligations. Therefore CEWC, the Commonwealth Institute and a range of British societies with international interests were enabled to provide their resource materials to schools or arrange events for school pupils. From the viewpoint of a history of development education, the most important insight here is in the reference to the colonies and the desirability that young people in schools should learn something about them. By the end of the two UN Development Decades of the 1960s and 1970s this stance would become transformed through decolonisation and the growth of the field of aid and development to the newly labelled Third World countries. It is also evident from the Ministry position in the 1950s that this was the realm of foreign affairs. A deputation from the Working Group on the Diminution of Prejudice which contained influential head teachers visited the Ministry in 1959 to put the case for issuing a Circular advocating that 'some part of the curriculum of schools [be] devoted to racial understanding'.¹⁵ This was rejected by Ministry officials, although a reference in a Ministerial speech was considered to be appropriate. This was partly because the Ministry did not consider there was sufficient evidence of racial prejudice in schools, unlike in adult society. So the matter could be 'dealt with in ordinary lessons' because otherwise it would be 'encroaching upon a teacher's legitimate discretion':

The Parliamentary Secretary went on, however, to say that he entertained real doubts about the 'value' of a Circular specifically on race relations, and about courses in schools specifically on this topic. What was really involved here was, in his view, the teaching of values, which was always a task of very considerable difficulty.¹⁶

This affirms the view that the Ministry was only prepared at this time to take very cautious steps in its engagement with the social causes of the day and the

values it would recommend be taught in schools. If the officials could not see the direct connection between international understanding and the increasing number of pupils from the New Commonwealth in British schools, the professionals in the deputation could. Again, seen from the perspective of the history of Development Education, it is significant that Dr Richmond from the Department of Social Study at the University of Edinburgh contributed his opinion on school Geography to the meeting:

... one of the great weaknesses of the teaching of human geography in schools today was that emphasis tended to be placed on differences between territories, naturally enough because this made for a picturesque lesson but insufficient was done to emphasise what there was in common between different parts of the world, for instance what we had in common with Africa nowadays when a sophisticated urban life was emerging in many parts of that continent.¹⁷

This viewpoint on highlighting similarities rather than differences would become a commonplace approach for development educators in later years, indeed arguably what made development education distinctively different from Third World Studies (see succeeding chapters). The deputation on racial understanding gave rise to further internal discussion about appropriate subjects for learning in secondary schools. In response to reference to Social Psychology, Anthropology, Sociology and other Social Subjects, a memo was sent to Mr Walker stating that these 'are not desirable school subjects, except the vaguest – Social Studies. Social Studies as such occur in a number of schools but it is a matter of opinion whether this approach is more effective than the straight study of History and Geography'.¹⁸ Geoffrey Lloyd, as Minister of Education, responded with a memo to Charles Page:

It is a long-established practice in this country that the Ministry of Education does not lay down what subjects should be taught in schools... I did not think it would be appropriate for me to advise Local Education Authorities to include instruction about race relations in the school syllabus... But this is far from suggesting that the schools are not doing a great deal, both directly and indirectly, to help their pupils to recognise the importance of tolerance in race relations, as well as in other matters.¹⁹

The Council for Education in World Citizenship

CEWC was founded in 1939. It grew out of a split within the League of Nations Union and was led by pacifists like Gilbert Murray who were much concerned about the failure of the League to prevent world war.²⁰ The concept of 'education for world citizenship' emerged during the earliest committee meetings, related to an agreed constitutional aim in 1940 'to promote throughout the educational system such studies and teaching as may best contribute to mutual understanding, peace, co-operation and goodwill between all peoples and lead to the building of a world commonwealth'.²¹ The world-minded educational trend represented by CEWC can be best identified as a support for UN and UNESCO views of Education for International Understanding (EIU). EIU during these years can be characterised as a movement for learning about actualities or 'the world as it is' focused on the necessity to maintain peace in the post-war world through the next generation learning to know about and tolerate differences across the world. Such an approach to global learning tended to use formal top-down learning methods and rely on the authority of UK experts. Hence the nature of CEWC's longstanding Christmas Conferences with influential politicians and public figures addressing large numbers of sixth form students at Central Hall in Westminster.

Gilbert Murray was an inspiration to CEWC, Oxfam and many other initiatives for international education. CEWC acknowledged the role that Murray had played when he died in May 1957 quoting the Latin and English versions of his epitaph in Westminster Abbey:

Gilbert Murray 1866-1957. Order of Merit. An example of true culture. As long as he lived the literature of ancient Greece came to life again and we had no right to give up hope of concord among the nations.²²

It is important to acknowledge the role that visionary individuals have played in international educational movements, even though this may be hard to assess. Murray carried on a lengthy correspondence with Tagore in Bengal about international schools. His breadth of vision and classical humanism can be seen as a guiding force in CEWC's development as an organisation making 'a real, however small, contribution towards the creation of a world society based upon peace, justice and social progress'.²³

The story of CEWC during the 1950s is one of steady progress and success in the field of world citizenship and education for international understanding. Its origins in the League of Nations and in helping to set up UNESCO meant that it was always closely tied to an internationalist perspective which increasingly took on issues of aid to underdeveloped areas of the world but without the localised learning approaches later pioneered by Oxfam and the development NGOs. CEWC's educational role in the UK was therefore always one of providing pupils and teachers with a global overview based on information rather than direct experience. As a voluntary organisation with a small dedicated staff it was successful in this chosen role, at least up to the 1960s. This is largely because at the time there were no real allies or competitors working in schools.

CEWC's success can be measured in the increasing numbers of member schools, from 381 in 1945 to 753 in England alone by 1953.²⁴ Although this may seem small in scale compared with the total numbers of schools it does represent a steady increase in a climate of financial difficulties. The 1951 Annual Report refers to the Ministry of Education's call for economy which had caused schools to cancel their CEWC subscriptions: 'our work has been hampered by lack of money' which 'could expand if only there were the staff in the field to take advantage of the general interest – particularly that shown in Secondary Modern schools'.²⁵ Annual Reports for the 1950s show balanced budgets, expanding staff numbers and the creation of regional and national branches. The Management Committee included head teachers from state and private schools, with increasing representation of Secondary Modern heads. The real indicators of CEWC's success are the range of influential people who contributed to the organisation's activities and the scale of participation by young people. From 1944 onwards, CEWC engaged major British politicians, thinkers and diplomats to lecture to sixth form students at a series of Christmas Holiday Lectures. The roll call of speech makers during the decade included Prime Ministers, Foreign Secretaries, Leaders of the Opposition, Archbishops, academics and frequently Professor Murray himself. CEWC had gained enough prestige and political neutrality to attract prominent speakers from across British and international society. These names drew very large numbers of pupil participants. The Christmas Holiday lectures regularly drew 1,500 to 2,000 sixth formers to Central Hall in Westminster. The World Youth Forum organised by CEWC with the *Daily Mail* involved 11,000 schoolchildren in seven regional meetings with a culminating meeting of 6,000 at the Albert Hall listening to Anthony Eden and the Archbishop of York.²⁶ There were also summer conferences for teachers and an expanding list of publications for schools, including a News Club newsletter selling 21,000 copies monthly.²⁷ The 1951 Annual Report cites an article in the *Schoolmaster* which celebrated CEWC's work as a 'frill that proves on examination to be a fundamental'. CEWC's inference from this was that

every Local Education Authority should 'look on this work as an essential part of education' which should not be cut in times of stringency.²⁸

The two most important aspects of CEWC's work that bear on the later growth of development education are its capacity to network and its increasing focus on the politics and economics of aid and development. As a networking organisation, CEWC's primary contacts were with UN organisations in the UK, including the United Nations Association (UNA), UNESCO and UNICEF. The UNA was the successor to the League of Nations Union. Its purpose was and is to promote awareness in the UK of the United Nations. CEWC regarded the UNA as its parent body and often described itself in publicity as 'an organisation of the United Nations Association'. However, relations between the two separate bodies were not always easy, with UNA reducing its financial support and taking over work in the youth sector. This meant that a demarcation between schools' work handled by CEWC and youth and student work handled by UNA was eventually achieved. David Ennals, who moved from Secretary of CEWC to chief executive of UNA and eventually the Labour Party front bench in the House of Commons acted as a point of contact between the two bodies.²⁹

CEWC's relations with UNESCO and UNICEF have more bearing on its role as a pioneer of development education. CEWC supported UNESCO initiatives for Education for International Understanding and had many of its Management Committee members on UNESCO's Methods and Materials Standing Committee. The UNESCO Committee issued a statement on 'Teaching for International Understanding' in 1952 which CEWC helped to promote to schools in the UK.³⁰ CEWC supported fundraising initiatives for UNESCO, especially the Gift Coupon Scheme which was set up in 1951 to raise money from schools for educational projects in other countries. By the end of 1952, around £2,000 had been sent in coupons to 25 educational institutions in 17 countries, including Germany and Greece. The Scheme became an established feature of CEWC's work 'as an opportunity not only to help those in less developed countries, but to

study their conditions and cultures'.³¹ CEWC had a less direct relationship with UNICEF, but did support a specific UNICEF appeal in 1954 and invited Danny Kaye, the renowned comedian, who was touring the UK in 1956 as a UNICEF speaker to present at a CEWC event at Festival Hall. This was described in the Annual Report as a rare 'set piece' in the CEWC climate of 'quiet endeavour' which did not normally choose to 'indulge in extravagant firework displays' of this kind.³²

There is little evidence of CEWC networking with development organisations, although there was a stand for UNESCO at the 1959 War on Want exhibition on world poverty (see below).³³ The most important body in CEWC's networking circle during the 1950s was the Ministry of Education, and it was suggested in 1951 that 'another indication of CEWC's increased stability as an educational organisation has been its harmonious working relationship with the Ministry of Education'.³⁴ The Ministry gave credibility to CEWC as a competent organisation for teachers and pupils through circulating its information to schools and through giving limited financial support. The focus for this was around the encouragement given to schools to support United Nations Day in June. In 1954, for example, this involved CEWC in distributing thousands of posters and leaflets to schools. The Ministry circulated a special leaflet with information about materials available from CEWC. There was a rally of youth organisations in Trafalgar Square with Iain Macleod, the Minister of Health, unfurling a United Nations flag followed by a service in Central Hall.³⁵

CEWC also supported celebrations of Human Rights Day for schools, with a special acknowledgement of the tenth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1958. The Ministry of Education issued a circular to schools in support of this.³⁶ Human rights was a key international learning topic for CEWC during the decade. Issues of aid and development also became important. This can be seen in the themes of the annual Christmas Holiday Lectures like 'Aid to the underdeveloped areas of the world' in January 1951

with speakers including Harold Macmillan, from the Opposition front bench.³⁷ In January 1954 the Lecture theme was 'The Challenge of Africa', with thirty African teachers and students acting as group discussion leaders. The theme in January 1958 was 'Britain's Place in a Changing World' with Hugh Gaitskell, the Leader of the Opposition, among the speakers. Themes for both national and regional schools' conferences during 1956 to 1957 included 'The Middle East' and 'Latin America', with a specific UNESCO-led focus on 'East-West' in 1958 to 1959. The greatest student interest during the decade was in the issue of refugees which reached a climax during the UN's World Refugee Year in 1959:

It is probable that the full details of the immense contribution made by schools in Britain will never be known. Many schools added their collections to the local efforts which have been made all over the country, so that precise records are not available; but from the evidence available to CEWC, which acted as an agent for many schools in conveying their collections to specific groups or organisations, it is clear that the cause of the refugee touched young people as no other appeal has ever done.³⁸

The effect of CEWC's influence during the 1950s and after was therefore one of a small but influential voluntary organisation in the educational field in the UK, responding to international trends by supplying events for mainly secondary age schoolchildren and materials for their teachers. In later assessments by CEWC personnel, the annual Christmas Holiday Lectures were the major contribution of CEWC. Dame Margaret Miles, the ex headmistress of Putney High School and a lifetime supporter of CEWC, wrote in 1979 about how in her view 'hundreds of today's citizens holding responsible jobs and doing valuable voluntary work in the UK and abroad, got their first taste of politics, from these conferences'. She saw that 'many other ways of learning about the world have now opened up, but at that time CEWC stood alone'. CEWC had kept up with educational change so that by its fortieth year in 1979 it was still 'riding high and recognised as *the*

national body which provides education for international understanding in schools'.³⁹ Earlier than this CEWC's Secretary Terence Lawson had written that:

While working closely with the various organisations concerned with economic development, race relations, Europe, The Commonwealth and other limited fields, CEWC remains the forerunner in the comprehensive field of education for living in a world community. It is an initiative we cannot afford to lose.⁴⁰

Such an analysis gives a picture of an organisation wishing to see itself as the hub of providing support to teachers for global learning but by the late 1960s giving ground to the emergence of newer organisations and networking bodies. Long before Margaret Miles described this role as the key body, Oxfam staff had decided that CEWC had lost its way (see the following chapter). What the history of CEWC does highlight is what Derek Heater has called 'the delicacy with which CEWC has had to conduct its affairs, especially in days when "political" education (as distinct from emasculated "civics") was barely thought proper for schools'.⁴¹ Heater was referring to a particular disagreement between CEWC and the United Nations Association (UNA) in 1947 when in a letter to Gilbert Murray, Kathleen Courtney wrote that CEWC 'were carrying on an extremely Leftist (to put it mildly) propaganda in schools' which the UNA sought to distance itself from. CEWC's position was to involve politicians of all parties in giving support and to see financial support from the Ministry of Education as giving respectability to its choice of topics and choice of speakers.

However, by the mid 1950s, Enoch Powell MP was writing to the Ministry of Education to complain about this perceived politicisation of a schools' event in his Wolverhampton constituency. Powell reacted negatively to press information about a schools' event in his constituency where CEWC had arranged for a speaker from the left-leaning Fabian Colonial Bureau to speak to sixth form students. Powell wrote to the then Conservative Minister of Education, Florence

Horsburgh, to complain about what he judged to be propaganda activities from a government supported voluntary organisation:

I know nothing of the CEWC but assume from its name that it can be no other than left-wing or probably Communist. In any case, education in world citizenship, if there is such a thing, like any other necessary subjects of education, ought presumably to be provided through the medium of the schools and not outside bodies.⁴²

The Ministry's position in response to Mr Powell's letter was that 'Whatever Mr Powell may deduce from the name of the CEWC we regard it as a perfectly respectable non-political body'. Although CEWC's 'enthusiasm sometimes outstrips their judgement', the Ministry's concern was to avoid 'stirring up a witch hunt' and emphasising the organisation's 'respectability'.⁴³ However, this episode did lead to a reduction in CEWC's grant from the Ministry, as recorded in the two files labelled 'Allegations of Pro-Communist Political Bias in Selection of Speakers to Schools: Should grants therefore be terminated?' and 'CEWC – tapering of grant'.⁴⁴ Successive Ministries of Education continued to give financial support to CEWC for many years, but this reduction was a factor in the organisation's loss of influence as a national co-ordinating body for global learning. Staff members felt challenged by the rise of VCOAD and the new focus on problems of poverty and hunger in the Third World, where CEWC's position was to promote a more UN-style global overview of world affairs. The example of Powell's protest letter highlights a key issue of sensitivity in government financial support for any non-government organisations concerned to bring learning about issues of social and global concern into schools. This bears on later DES and ODM support for development education organisations, just as it did for CEWC during the 1950s. What emerges is a portrait of the 1950s where moves broadly based on education for peace and mutual understanding could be portrayed as putting at risk the integrity and neutrality for learning world-level values in schools.

This issue of 'politicised' involvement of issue groups in state education is highlighted by the history of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND) as a protest movement.⁴⁵ There was division between CND and the Committee of 100 over appropriate forms of action to achieve their aims, with for example the Sevenoaks branch of CND arguing that an educational programme should take precedence 'until the movement attracts a greater degree of public support'.⁴⁶ The Committee of 100 by contrast opted for more direct forms of public action like sit-down protests. This distinction between what was seen as acceptable activity in relation to schools and more politically overt forms of action for adult and non-formal youth groups is important in relating 'protest movements' to other forms of cause-based learning initiatives.

In retrospect, CEWC's role in pioneering new methods of learning should also be highlighted. The running of a 'model meeting' of the UN Economic and Social Council in Cambridge in 1951 and a 'Mock Trial of the UN' during United Nations Week in London and a 'Model Council of Europe' at a youth camp in Basingstoke during 1952 to 1953 are given brief mentions in Annual Reports.⁴⁷ Although CEWC's learning methodology throughout the decade could fairly be described as speaker-led top-down learning, there was inspiration to experiment with more participatory methods. This is important in the light of the strong focus of subsequent development education providers to promote learning through role-play and simulation, as described in the following chapters.

When Lionel Elvin at the University of London's Institute of Education was appointed as CEWC's President on the death of Gilbert Murray in 1957, a new era began. The visionary classical professor from Oxford was succeeded by a leader with direct working experience of UNESCO and the world of teacher education. This change from one kind of internationalist education to another perhaps helps to highlight less visible forces acting in opposition to EIU during these years. Organisations like CEWC provided teachers and pupils with

possibilities for learning about peace in a world of increasing global paranoia and about racial harmony in a climate of rising racism. They were precursors for the rise of NGOs providing learning about aid and development in a world of increasing awareness of poverty. Such a statement is intended to highlight social forces within British society that were acting in opposition to views of educational progress provided by these voluntary organisations. A comprehensive analysis of these forces should include lingering militarism after the Second World War and lingering imperial attitudes. For the purposes of this chapter their existence is simply being recognised. However, histories of the 1950s decade provide an overview of a time in British history when there was a growing sense of prosperity and relative consensus over social policy, often referred to as 'Butskellism'.⁴⁸ Through engaging influential speakers from across political spectrums, CEWC succeeded in staying true to its mission as 'a non-political organisation for the promotion of international study in schools and youth groups'.⁴⁹ This carefully nurtured appearance of neutrality was important in gaining credibility with teachers and openings in schools.

Learning locally: a War on Want exhibition in London

CEWC participated in an exhibition organised by War on Want at Central Hall in Westminster from 16 to 23 January 1960. War on Want had been set up during the 1950s as a left-minded aid organisation, supported by Victor Gollancz, Ambrose Appelbe and Harold Wilson.⁵⁰ From its foundation, it has always seen itself as more of an adult campaigning and lobbying body than one involved in the learning of young people in schools, as is suggested by its strident title.⁵¹ By the end of the 1950s, War on Want was re-focusing its campaigning energies to achieve more public impact through events and publications, including a 1959 pamphlet on 'The Hungry Millions' based on a speech in the House of Commons by Sir Herbert Broadley, the former Chief Executive of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO). War on Want became a company with defined aims, including to be 'non-party but very political' and to share in 'the famine and

disaster relief work being undertaken by other aid charities' but at the same time resolving 'to campaign for political and economic change'.⁵²

The next large-scale publicity event organised by War on Want was the January 1960 exhibition on the theme of 'The War on Want'. The managing director, Frank Harcourt-Munning, enlisted Countess Mountbatten, Eleanor Roosevelt and Nehru's sister, Mrs Pandit, as patrons of the exhibition and saw it as a means to bring the impetus generated by the UN's World Refugee Year and the FAO's Freedom from Hunger Campaign together. Multinational companies with interests in poorer countries were encouraged to book stands at the exhibition, which covered the costs, even though there was some criticism of this at the time.⁵³ This did enable other organisations like UNICEF, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief (Oxfam) and the National Peace Council to exhibit. Representatives of developing countries were also invited. As well as the exhibits on display, there was a range of public meetings, cultural events and a continuous free cinema show. A journalist, Derek Walker, offered his assistance for press work, achieving wide national coverage and becoming personally involved in War on Want as a volunteer press officer.⁵⁴ Walker subsequently became a key player in the rise of development education in England through his role as Director of VCOAD's Education Unit and subsequently of CWDE (see Chapters Five and Seven).

In War on Want's own evaluation, the London exhibition 'demonstrated that it had the capacity to stage an event that garnered support from all parts of British society and could draw the attention of the media to the need to fight world poverty'.⁵⁵ This was primarily an educational event of an adult campaigning nature, but it did include some activities aimed at school learners including a school essay competition on the theme of world poverty. There was also the participation of organisations like CEWC who were more specifically concerned with the schools' sector. CEWC ran a stand during the week with a puppet theatre giving five performances a day to illustrate methods of education used in

UNESCO's programme of fundamental education.⁵⁶ The puppets had been made in Mexico especially for the performances. The CEWC stand also projected slides with a taped commentary, sold UNESCO gift coupons and canvassed subscriptions to UNESCO's 'Courier' magazine.

Derek Walker has reflected on this event as highlighting the importance of visual imagery in capturing public imagination and response to issues of world poverty, which 'put the issue of world hunger on the front pages of British newspapers for the first time'.⁵⁷ This is also important for understanding the subsequent history of development education in England, particularly in relation to visual learning materials produced by NGOs like Oxfam. As well as a new style of public information event striving for national attention, the War on Want exhibition emphasised the dominant role of London in developing education for international understanding and support for world poverty. As demonstrated above, the majority of CEWC's learning activities were centred in London, many also at Westminster Central Hall – the site of the inaugural meeting of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1946. The Commonwealth Institute drew large parties of school children to its exhibition centre in Kensington. These examples characterise the learning approaches of the 1950s as visible activity on a large scale and records do celebrate success in terms of numbers of participants. More micro-scale learning exploring the potential of active classroom methodologies was to follow in subsequent decades, just as London itself was to release its hold as development education sources of support became more regionalised and localised. Each fieldwork chapter in this thesis contains a regional example for this spread from around England.

Conclusions on world understanding in the 1950s

This chapter represents a beginning in forming an analysis of changing trends in the English NGO sector concerned with global learning. With the rise of youth activism and changing views about values in the school system, English children

after the 1950s could no longer have claimed to have been educated as children of Empire, as the historian David Cannadine has done.⁵⁸ That Empire had been changed irretrievably by the Second World War and metamorphosed into a new, multiracial Commonwealth. Processes of independence had caused conflicts from the Congo to Biafra during the 1960s that were largely brought to public consciousness by the publicity and educational materials of aid agencies. These same agencies sought to use some of their donated funds to raise awareness of global poverty issues in schools. The rise of development education in England, with Oxfam's role as the lead agency, has to be seen in a wider socio-economic context as well as a changing professional one. It would be too restrictive to seek to study the NGO sector on its own, as if it was separated from other currents of attitudes towards the world.

References to Chapter Four

¹ National Archives: ED121/842, memo of 1 January 1955.

² Ibid. Reference to Circular 282 of 12 October 1954.

³ Ibid. Memo from Mr Leadbetter, 21 January 1955.

⁴ Ibid. Letter of 24 February 1955.

⁵ Ibid. Letter of 9 August 1955.

⁶ Ibid. Memo of 1 September 1955.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ National Archives: ED121/842.

⁹ *The Commonwealth Institute Journal* preface: 1(1) February 1963.

¹⁰ Commonwealth Institute minutes: 7/12/1956.

¹¹ Commonwealth Institute minutes: 4/10/1960.

¹² From the second issue of *The Commonwealth Institute Journal* in May 1963. This was intended to be published by the Pergamon Press three times a year, which it did in its first year, dropping to twice a year until Volume 3 number 2 in December 1965. Thereafter it became an Annual Review.

¹³ Hennessy (2006) explores Churchill's legacy for British foreign policy as a triangular meeting of pro Atlanticist, Commonwealth and European positions, in Chapter 6 on 'The Geometric Conceit'. He further examines Britain's role as a 'leader of the independent Commonwealth' in Chapter 10. See also Bernstein, G. (2004) on the Commonwealth as 'a vehicle for securing Britain's economic interests' (page 111).

¹⁴ There is a section about this in Walford, R. (2001).

¹⁵ National Archives: ED121/717. Report of meeting of 18 June 1959.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid. Memo of 3 July 1959.

¹⁹ Ibid. Memo of 9 July 1959.

²⁰ The history and effect on schools of the LNU is well described in Elliott, B. (1977).

²¹ Heater, D. (1984), Appendix One. For an overview of CEWC's history up to the 1970s, see Miles, M. (1979). It is perhaps indicative of CEWC's waning influence that no history has been published since. At the time of writing, CEWC has announced its incorporation into The Citizenship Foundation.

²² CEWC Annual Report: 1957-1958, page 1.

²³ Ibid.: 1955-1956, page 7.

²⁴ CEWC Annual Reports: 1945, page 1; 1953-1954, page 2.

²⁵ Ibid.: 1951, page 2.

²⁶ Ibid.: 1951, page 5.

²⁷ Ibid.: 1956-1957, page 5.

²⁸ Ibid.: 1951, page 2.

²⁹ UNA-UK archives at the London School of Economics: 3/1/13, Executive Committee minutes for 24 April 1958 on the resignation of David Ennals.

³⁰ Ibid.: 1952-1953, page 3.

³¹ Ibid.: 1952-1953, page 8.

³² Ibid.: 1956-1957, page 1.

³³ Ibid.: 1959-1960, page 8.

³⁴ Ibid.: 1949, page 1.

³⁵ Ibid.: 1954-1955, page 6.

³⁶ Ibid.: 1958-1959, page 7.

³⁷ Ibid.: 1951, page 4; 1953-1954, page 4; 1957-1958, pages 2-3.

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- ³⁸ Ibid.: 1959-1960, page 5.
- ³⁹ Miles, M. (1979), page 16 and 9.
- ⁴⁰ CEWC Annual Report: 1968-69, page 10.
- ⁴¹ Heater, D. (1984), page 125.
- ⁴² National Archives: ED121/796: letter of 29 March 1952.
- ⁴³ Ibid. Minute of 5 February 1952.
- ⁴⁴ National Archives: ED121/796 and 797. These files had not been publicly released when Derek Heater wrote the history of CEWC in 1984.
- ⁴⁵ For contemporary analyses of CND and related protest movements see Driver, C. (1964) and Parkin, F. (1968).
- ⁴⁶ Burkett, J. (2007), page 8; referring to CND/1, July 1958, at the London School of Economics archive.
- ⁴⁷ CEWC Annual Reports: 1951, page 6; 1952-1953, pages 6 and 8.
- ⁴⁸ Including Hennessy, P. (2006) and Sandbrook, D. (2005).
- ⁴⁹ CEWC Annual Report: 1952-1953, page 12.
- ⁵⁰ See Luetchford, M. and Burns, P. (2003), pages 7-26.
- ⁵¹ Information confirmed during my meeting with Mark Luetchford, 14 June 2007.
- ⁵² Luetchford, M. and Burns, P. (2003), pages 37-38.
- ⁵³ Especially from Fenner Brockway; see Luetchford, M. and Burns, P. (2003), page 39.
- ⁵⁴ Ibid., page 40.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ CEWC Annual Report: 1959-1960, page 6.
- ⁵⁷ Meeting with Derek Walker, 3 May 2006.
- ⁵⁸ See particularly the appendix on 'An Imperial Childhood?' in Cannadine, D. (2001). Cannadine does point out that readers should pay attention to his use of the question mark in the title.

Chapter Five

The development puzzle: 1960-1971

This chapter traces the history of public concern in England for aid to developing countries, seeing this as a movement from charitable sympathy towards more informed understanding of development processes which was largely led by NGOs. A number of NGO networking bodies helped to direct this movement during the 1960s, most notably The Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) and then VCOAD. The chapter shows collaboration between NGOs as well as areas of disagreement, through a focus on Oxfam's role as a major contributor to the networks and also on the support and influencing role of Government through the ODM. David Smith's monumental thesis on Education for World Understanding up to 1964 provides a contemporary survey of all the NGOs active in this field, including a section on the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.¹

This interconnectedness or lack of it between agencies themselves and in relation to central government made up a 'development puzzle', as the chapter has been titled from the name of an important VCOAD publication which provided advice on development resources to teachers. This also refers to changes in understanding of the concept and practice of Third World development within both the NGOs and the new ODM.

Government and the NGO sector in the 1960s

The DES and the ODM supported non-government organisations concerned with global understanding in different ways and apparently without close

interconnections between the Ministries. Where the DES tended to favour those NGOs advocating 'education for international understanding' (EIU), the ODM supported NGOs for public awareness of development which came over time to be called 'development education'. The shortage of coherence between the two key Ministries therefore mirrors a shortage of coherence within the NGO sector over global understanding.

This analysis highlights the twin tracks that the global education movement in England was following from the 1960s, between a broader socio-political awareness of world affairs as represented by CEWC which was generally regarded as 'international understanding' and a narrower economic emphasis on the poverty of the Third World which was increasingly being termed as 'development education'. This latter was hardly a nationally accepted field of learning at this time for the teaching profession because of its perceived distance from the DES on 'international understanding'.

The history of CEWC's educational activities through the 1960s and early 1970s can be summarised as one of continued effort against a dilution of influence as other organisations and networks emerged in the field of international understanding. This is particularly true for the rise of development education during the 1970s (see Chapters Six and Seven) and was commented on by Terence Lawson, CEWC's Secretary, in Annual Reports at that time.² It is also true for a new organisation whose support came from parliamentarians rather than a Government Ministry. This was the Parliamentary Group for World Government (PGWG), which had originally been set up in 1947 on an all-party basis 'to be free to act, in whatever way it deems effective, as the focus in the House for study and action on world government'.³ In 1951 PGWG members set up a 'One World Trust' to raise funds for education and research. The Group produced a guidance booklet on activities in the United Kingdom on Education for International Understanding after a teacher conference in 1959 and with the support of Lord Attlee, the former Labour Prime Minister. The most significant

observation from this is that at this time the development NGOs were entirely absent, although there was mention of UNICEF in relation to selling Christmas cards. This was followed in 1960 with an Education Advisory Committee (EAC), set up on the advice of Lord Attlee, 'to encourage a greater sense of world community'. The first joint chairmen of the OWT were Tony Durant MP and Dr James Henderson from the University of London Institute of Education.⁴

During the 1960s, the EAC initiated a number of studies of textbooks and examination syllabuses, with a particular interest in History as a school subject. As Henderson's thinking developed and books like James Burton's on *World Government* were published, the PGWG and One World Trust moved more into the terminology of 'World Studies' and world systems theories. In 1967, Henderson was instrumental in starting a *World Studies Bulletin*, which became part of *New Era* in 1972. In 1970 a decision was made to seek funding for a World Studies Project which became operational in 1973.

The visionary influence of the World Studies Project and its Director from 1973 to 1979, Robin Richardson, is covered more fully in Chapter Seven, as part of a progressive trend of 'learning for change' and to illustrate its points of convergence and distance from the emerging network for development awareness. However, the role of the PGWG has been introduced here in relation to the trend for education in international understanding or world-mindedness, which largely gave it birth. The crux is to understand what terms like 'world order' and 'one world' meant to participants at this time. Members of the PGWG were acting through a belief in the importance of moving towards unified world government to sustain peace in the post-war world. From this base, they could call for a revision of the United Nations Charter, advocate a permanent force for world security and lobby for fairer terms of world trade. They were not therefore to be identified with members of UNA-UK, which saw itself as a 'critical fan club for the UN'.⁵ Mission statements from PGWG publications and in the initial proposal for the World Studies Project, proclaim the need to

balance a sense of nationalism with a wider sense of internationalism, as a twin-track educational strategy.

On the other side of this government story, lie the origins of British assistance for poorer countries, which became instituted as the ODM in 1964. Since the 1929 Colonial Development Act, the British Government had recognised its responsibility for the development of its colonies. This concept of official development was renewed and extended through subsequent Colonial Development and Welfare Acts during the 1940s and 1950s, during the period when the colonies were seeking and beginning to achieve independence from Britain.

The precedent for creating the ODM had been the 1961 Technical Co-Operation Act of the Macmillan administration, which marked a step on the road to decolonising the former British Empire through combining Colonial and Commonwealth Office expertise for aid and development into one Department of Technical Co-Operation within the Foreign Office. During the later Macmillan years, the Fabian Society produced a series of papers laying out what a full Ministry could achieve for Britain in this field, including 'opportunities for publicising development problems which are by their nature rather remote and hard to understand' and so 'relations with non-government bodies in Britain to generate public support and understanding' were very important.⁶ The main thinker in the group was Adrian Moyes who subsequently worked in Oxfam's Public Affairs Unit. The key concept was to be a Ministry for 'development' and not just 'aid'; in other words as Harold Wilson phrased it in a draft telegram to Dr Banda in Nyasaland just after the ODM had been established: 'The name was chosen deliberately so that it should be clear that the British Government proposed to enter into a fruitful partnership with the Governments of those countries, with the emphasis on obligation rather than charity.'⁷ There was a high level of debate around the concept of 'development' deeper than was perhaps achieved after the Ministry became operational, seeing this as a

universal process which also affected the UK so that the incoming government should be thinking about establishing a parallel Department of Domestic Development.⁸

The main function of the ODM was to administer the government's overseas aid programme, although officials made a point of describing it as a ministry for development and not just aid (for example, Reginald Prentice, see below). The ODM put much reliance on the growing expertise of development NGOs like Oxfam and Christian Aid, primarily in overseas programmes. This became linked to discussions about raising public awareness at home and whose responsibility it was to do this. From this conduit for making connections between government and the NGO sector, a movement for development awareness and development education grew.

The voluntary sector network for development awareness in place when the ODM was created was the education committee of the FFHC. This latter represented the first major public awareness activity directed toward 'Third World awareness' in the United Kingdom. It had been inspired by the Food and Agriculture Organisation calling for a worldwide Freedom from Hunger Campaign towards the end of the 1950s. The United Kingdom Committee for FFHC under Gerald Furnivall and Donald Tweddle attracted support from eminent public figures and invested much energy in a two-strand approach for direct support to aid projects on one hand and encouragement for educational activities on the other.⁹ This represents a major change of direction for the charity sector from the previous production of some learning resources for schools. For the first time a non-official body aimed to influence syllabuses and examination boards, suggesting what might be achieved through targeted activities. FFHC produced the first *Impact* magazine highlighting the limited range of questions on developing world topics in public examinations at that time. But the Campaign began to run out of energy and direction after a number of years. There was a sequence of internal debates between FAO officials who

wished to sustain a focus on world hunger and Ministry officials who wished to broaden out the potential energy and enthusiasm in the voluntary sector to wider areas of understanding that included 'disease and ignorance' as well as hunger. This could be seen as the beginning of government support for learning about 'development' in a wider sense and fully in line for the idea of a 'development decade' during the 1960s which was being advocated by organisations of the United Nations.

From this government support for voluntary sector co-ordination, VCOAD was set up from 1964 onwards. By 1966 its Education Committee had taken over the educational remit from FFHC, with some resistance from FFHC personnel in the United Kingdom and FAO officials in Rome. When Mr Weitz from the FAO visited the ODM in 1966, the Ministry official, J. D. Anderson noted that:

We took the line (having explained to him what VCOAD is) that we welcomed any efforts by the voluntary bodies to co-operate, and we thought therefore that the concentration of VCOAD's educational effort with that of the FFHC was a good thing. (Mr Weitz appeared to remain uneasy about this on the grounds that FAO are against any widening of the campaign against hunger to include campaigning against disease and ignorance as well). We also said that there was no question of issuing a Government directive to FFHC. It is not as though we were contributing a grant to them and we were most reluctant to interfere with the private affairs of the voluntary bodies.¹⁰

For the following ten years, under Derek Walker's guidance as Education Officer, VCOAD strove to co-ordinate the educational initiatives of the member voluntary organisations, which were initially CIIR, Christian Aid, FFHC, Oxfam, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), SCF, UNA and War on Want.¹¹

Meetings of VCOAD's Education Committee reflected a wide range of different approaches for supporting learning about development within this voluntary sector grouping. Christian Aid and Oxfam were the two leading agencies with increasing investment in education in schools. Bill Jackson, Oxfam's education officer, saw 'VCOAD's function as taking on the business of allying new sections of the community to the cause of development, in partnership with yourselves (i.e. the ODM)'.¹² CIIR and War on Want were more concerned with areas of adult education and campaigning. SCF kept some distance from the others, even though it had set up a Schools and Universities Department of its own. The UNA focused more narrowly on public awareness of the United Nations, seeing CEWC as its broad educational arm. The UNA position was a concern that schools might 'become pre-occupied with development to the exclusion of virtually all else'.¹³ CEWC however never had a constituent place within VCOAD, regarding itself more as a different kind of co-ordinating body for NGO education work with a wider brief than just economic development. The ODI was and is an academic research body specialising in development studies. At that time, its secretary William Clark, who had an academic background in development studies, brought a lot of insight and expertise to VCOAD meetings, as recorded by Derek Walker.¹⁴ The FFHC finally disappeared with VCOAD taking on all its previous functions, both for co-ordinated direct aid projects and for education awareness work within the United Kingdom.

There was a depth of discussion within the ODM about how much involvement with particular NGOs could be shown, in order to avoid causing 'jealousy and umbrage' between them.¹⁵ This came to a head in response to a request from Oxfam's then Director, Leslie Kirkley, for the Minister to be formally involved in celebrating Oxfam's 25th Anniversary in 1967. By the time that the ODM had clarified its position internally, the Minister had changed (from Greenwood to Prentice: in fact both attended the event) and the agreed position was that he could make a speech but not be a partner in the event. Prentice made a 'battling speech' at the bread and cheese 'hunger lunch' at the Banqueting

House in Whitehall.¹⁶ This signifies a conscious attempt to clarify the Ministry's position over its engagement with the NGO sector and Oxfam in particular:

This Ministry is of course at present doing its best to strengthen its links with VCOAD, and thus to formalise its relationship with the co-ordinating committee, rather than deciding with the constituent societies on, as it were, a bilateral basis with each. I am sure that this is the right policy, which will produce smoother relationships and better tangible results.¹⁷

This memo has further additional notes by officials adding 'I think that we should think further about the role of jealousy between the societies' and 'I am not impressed with the argument about jealousy between the constituents of VCOAD'.¹⁸

Leslie Kirkley's view of the Minister's contribution to the hunger lunch, as expressed in a letter to Prentice, was that it had endorsed the occasion 'with a welcome political significance'.¹⁹ What this event signifies is the on-going discussion between the NGO sector and the Ministry about the role of development awareness and whose main responsibility it should be. Two years after the Oxfam hunger lunch, Leslie Kirkley wrote to the ODM to propose a joint publicity campaign for 'mobilising public opinion'. He stated his belief that this needed to reach a much wider sector of the public than the research papers from the ODI were doing. In claiming that 'Mrs Castle had told him that she thought the problem of educating the public was for the voluntary agencies rather than the Ministry', Kirkley was trying to get the Ministry under a new Minister to take more ownership for raising public awareness of development issues.²⁰ Yet they were not allowed by government legislation to take part in politics and propaganda. The following month, in August 1969, an article appeared in the *Sun* newspaper claiming that 'Oxfam have caught the imagination and enlisted the generous devotion of a whole generation of young

people' and it is evident from Prentice's later writings that he was impressed by the extent of youth mobilisation for the Oxfam anti-hunger cause.²¹ There was a lack of clarity about what was meant and what was permissible in the public awareness activities of NGOs in relation to Government. This led in due course to a lack of clarity in understanding and providing for development education in schools.

As well as internal differences of opinion, for example over permitted levels of politicisation in its activities, VCOAD was also often at variance with official ODM positions on development awareness. Mildred Nevile from CIIR 'hoped that VCOAD would become a political plank as public opinion must be more favourably disposed towards overseas aid'. She and other members would not have known that L. C. Green from the Charity Commission had previously written to W. J. Smith at the ODM 'about what is to be accepted as "education" within the terms of reference of the VCOAD. There is a wider difference of opinion between various charities as to what they can do under the heading of education than we had previously supposed'.²²

These tensions resulted in a co-ordinating body that was not as effective in the educational field as it could have been. There are many reasons for this. The first is in the very name of the body, which was seen as not being one that would attract public and professional support, unlike its predecessor Freedom from Hunger.²³ Secondly, NGOs putting large-scale financial and staff support into this area of education, like Christian Aid and Oxfam, could be tempted to operate more effectively under their own names. Thirdly, there were changes in personnel and status on both sides during the 1960s which limited capacity for developing sustained positions. The main factor was the ODM's position in relation to NGO initiatives, which in their own words was 'disinterested' more than 'uninterested':

To say that our interest in this work is indirect is not to say that we are uninterested. We merely wish to be careful about poking our official noses into and appearing to meddle with voluntary societies' business.²⁴

The NGO position was 'determined to remain independent of government'.²⁵ Sir Andrew Cohen, the distinguished colonial governor who had played a large hand in setting up and advising the ODM, was distinctly cautious about VCOAD ambitions, particularly when a general council on overseas aid and development was mooted by the NGOs:

It would be much better if the proponents of these grandiose ideas [i.e. a council on overseas aid and development] could be persuaded, without our intervention, not to pursue them (because) representatives of the voluntary societies... speak for particular sectional interests.²⁶

During this phase, the ODM also took over responsibility for UNESCO from the DES, and through this took over relations with the Parliamentary Group for World Government which was developing its own education initiatives with teachers and schools, including in-service courses and a resource guide on visual aid materials. Therefore ODM support for global learning can be characterised as being mainly but not exclusively through the VCOAD Education Committee and its successor CWDE. Margaret Quass (from CEWC) 'felt that the move of the National Commission for UNESCO was a retrograde step as far as influencing education was concerned, because the ODM had no mandate in schools which the DES had'.²⁷ Also, the privately stated opinions of NGO education personnel about VCOAD's disappointing lack of effectiveness could be widely at variance with the view from VCOAD itself, where the potential for a 'world programme of voluntary organisations – similar to the government's itself' could be envisaged because 'the Education Officers of the VCOAD members

had agreed eventually to pool everything and let all education work be done by VCOAD'.²⁸

VCOAD was seen as an NGO co-ordinating body which started to take on an independent role of its own. The main thrust of VCOAD and of NGO frustrations with it was in the area of co-ordination for overseas programme work. Its funding was always insecure and it had to be rescued a number of times by the member NGOs, in which Oxfam played a major role. The part of VCOAD work which was more generally accepted by the member NGOs was its Education Unit. This took on the education remit of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign in seeking to influence syllabuses and examinations related to world development, through a series of *Impact* publications. It also produced a resource guide called *The Development Puzzle* which co-ordinated information about agency resources for teachers. This ran through many editions, edited by Nance Lui Fyson, from the first handbook produced in 1969. At best, this publication was celebrated by all the interested NGOs as a means for disseminating their own learning materials more widely to teachers and schools. However, it was also seen as a potential cause for rivalry between the expanding educational programmes of these NGOs and the capacity for VCOAD's Education Unit to co-ordinate these in a perceived and agreed common interest.²⁹

Oxfam's Education Department – phase 1

The setting up of the Department: 1959-1964

From the creation of a first education post in 1959 to the internal crisis over information policy in 1970-71 there was on-going debate within Oxfam about the direction that its education work should take. This was influenced by both internal constraints as a charitable body and external partnerships and educational changes. In 1959, during International Refugee Year, the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief appointed Stella Dyer as its first Schools Organiser

for more efficient management of requests from schools and more active ways of responding to them.³⁰ This highlighted ambiguities at the heart of aid and relief charities between the necessity of fundraising for overseas projects and recognition of the growing importance of public awareness of aid and development issues. This internal tension defined the boundaries of the education programmes which emerged from within the development NGOs: on the one side constrained by the non-political nature of their UK activities and on the other by where following an education-led agenda would take them in a climate of curriculum change and politicisation of teachers in state schools.

In 1962, Stella Dyer moved to work for the Food and Agriculture Organisation in Rome and Bill Jackson was appointed to her post, which grew into a Schools and Universities Department. By 1964 'Oxfam was in touch with 12,000 schools and the department was raising around £150,000 a year'.³¹ In this same year, the department was renamed as the Education Department, with a re-aligned purpose because the effects of fundraising were considered to be confusing.³² Tensions between raising money for Oxfam from schools and supporting learning less tied to Oxfam's direct needs were always apparent, as were processes of trying to define exactly what a legitimate and acceptable role for the Education Department's work should be. One example is the record of two 'Oxfam teachers' taking part, also in 1964, in a World Conference of Organisations of the Teaching Profession in Paris which 'served to have Oxfam recognised as a body usefully educational', especially for primary school work.³³ What is clear is that the education programme continued to grow as more requests came from pupils and teachers in schools. Elizabeth Stamp, Oxfam's Information Officer, remembers, perhaps romantically, how 'The SMS (Secondary Modern Schools) had no set syllabus or restricted subject areas, so kids & teachers could "explore the world" and wander into Oxfam asking for photos, maps & information of every shape and kind!'³⁴ This at least meant that schools in and around Oxfam House in north Oxford could find a source of direct support for learning about Third World issues.

Oxfam built its education programme to raise awareness of the developing world in classrooms across England through responding to teachers and pupils, through the production and dissemination of learning materials and through the appointment of specialist teachers like Richard Taylor in 1965. Responding to incoming letters was a particularly important, ongoing function which the Department took great care over and which influenced the development of the education programme.³⁵ This programme can be seen in retrospect as innovative in four ways which made it different from the Ministry of Education / DES supported programme for international understanding which was the dominant model in the field up to the 1960s (see Chapter Four). First, Oxfam's programme focused on the realities of the poorest people in the world and their scope for development. This contrasted with the CEWC / UNA view that tended to see the world more from the corridors of global diplomacy. Second, and directly related to the focus on poverty and development, Oxfam's programme promoted active learning for change. This was to be expected in learning ideas emanating from an aid agency rather than an educational one. Thirdly, active learning models for change implied active learning methods which could engage young learners more enthusiastically than the classic Christmas Conference format favoured up till then by CEWC, with its speeches by the celebrities of the day (and see the localised example of a Youth Conference below). So, fourthly, Oxfam's emerging education programme was targeted at young people of all classes and abilities, in and out of school. It was more targeted at 'average' pupils than 'academic' ones, in the spirit of the 1963 Newsom Report on 'Half Our Future'. It was therefore consciously not academic in tone, being based on a concept of people's development which meant it had to be seen to be open for all learners, in youth settings as well as schools. CEWC's programmes had already acquired a reputation for serving more the needs of grammar and public schools, although there were notable exceptions to this trend from a number of Secondary Modern Schools like Garth High School in Surrey.³⁶

The Department under Bill Jackson: 1964-1966

During the next phase of the growth of Oxfam's Education Department, the head of department, Bill Jackson, wrote a list of planned achievements for the Education Department in 1964. This described Oxfam's education function as 'mainly to stimulate thought and action' through materials (with the UNESCO primary resources seen as a good start), GCE syllabus advice to teachers, a service for students 'written from an "aid" angle but not from a "hunger" or "charity" one' and direct link ups between schools. To sustain this emerging programme, more staff and a larger budget would be necessary and there should be no great expectation that direct results of it would accrue to Oxfam in terms of income or increased public profile. Other 'difficulties' in educational work seen by Jackson at this time included 'persuading the teaching profession to view development in depth: to get away from the charitable view and towards genuine education which is preparation for life; even to contemplate the political implications', as well as problems of co-ordination and mutual support with other NGOs.³⁷ Therefore, the early years of Oxfam's education programme can be seen as dominated by the need to define a learning approach to development and Third World issues which could gain the confidence of teachers through not being too negatively linked to public images of overseas charity work.

With regard to external partnerships, Jackson included as an aim to 'liaise with the Ministry of Education, the NUT, the CEWC and the education sub-committee of the FFHC in the UK, other national bodies, the educational press', to deal with county and borough education officers who 'take some convincing about our wish to educate' and teacher training colleges where 'teachers must be encouraged to teach history and geography etc. as applied human subjects' and to liaise with teacher organisations, asking them 'whether our ideas are relevant and whether they hold water educationally'.³⁸ This concept of close working with the education profession was reinforced some months later by Jackson as a suggested permanent brief for the Education Department which included

'servicing the manifest requirements of the educational world, in consultation with its officials'.³⁹

The interface between schools' work and youth work was also important during this formative phase. The former was pulled more towards professional matters like curriculum development initiatives in partnership with teachers and advisers, as well as publishing materials for teachers. The latter tended to focus more on the direct involvement of young people in supporting Oxfam activities like sponsored walks and fasts. When the department was being split into separate schools and youth functions in 1966, the Youth Officer wrote to Jackson on job responsibilities. Jackson saw his roles at the time as to include liaison with the World Studies Education Service and Dr James Henderson, with Longman for a series of publications, relations with other organisations like CEWC, UNA, UNSA (the UNA's Student Association) and a report on VCOAD education.⁴⁰ This list shows that the education department in its first years had achieved a wide range of liaisons with outside bodies, although these were more other NGO organisations than educational bodies.

Jackson's view about duplication and the 'consequent puzzlement for the educational world' between services for schools provided by different NGOs was that there was 'no common educational image or policy' between organisations. The UN Development Decade of the 1960s offered a chance 'to present together to the educational world in an actively educational, but non-propagandist, way one of the greatest challenges of the twentieth century'. Jackson's vision at the end of his term as head of the education department therefore emphasised the opportunities for liaison with like-minded organisations which could help to move Oxfam's education role beyond the confines of a fundraising, overseas aid driven NGO.⁴¹ Jackson felt during the mid-1960s that education work to raise awareness of the developing world could best expand outside rather than inside the limitations of NGO activity. Jackson proposed to Kirkley and the Oxfam management that an autonomous, Oxfam-funded, body

should be created to give the education role more freedom to operate. Kirkley refused to accept this, seeing the need to keep all public activities within the control of management. This had the effect of making tensions less immediately visible but not of removing them. The appointment in 1966 of Og Thomas to Jackson's post heightened the submerged tensions.

In handing over the department to Thomas, Jackson wrote about Oxfam not yet being a 'campaigning or agitating body' in its work in the United Kingdom. He recommended a 'continuation of the policy of taking a lead in inter-agency co-operation in approaches to the educational world, under the aegis of VCOAD' and 'the necessity to ensure a greater 'official' (Ministry, LEA, Head-teacher) understanding and acceptance of the role of the Education Department'.⁴² The department could be characterised as looking outwards towards the teaching profession more than inwards towards the priorities set by overseas aid programmes. This position was on the edge of the charity's core interests and a source of internal friction. There was concern around the ambiguity of the phrase Jackson used for 'international understanding' with the belief expressed that the department should be 'advocating 25% international education (as VCOAD and Ministry of Education role) and 75% for learning about the part Oxfam is playing and how it can be supported'.⁴³

The Department under Og Thomas: 1966-1970

The first phase of Oxfam's emerging development education programme can be best described as predominantly reactive to requests coming in from pupils and teachers in schools, which were influenced by wider public concerns about the developing world. In part these concerns were raised by Oxfam and other development agencies through their fundraising imagery, although the mass media no doubt had a larger role. The programme was also reactive to internal pressures of caution over aspects of campaigning and awareness raising work within an aid and relief organisation whose operational programme was aimed at

Third World countries. Within this framework, Bill Jackson's team and subsequently Og Thomas' team achieved most innovation through the production of new style learning resources for schools. One of Thomas' later reflections was that this was an achievement through which Oxfam had influenced commercial publishers, so that Oxfam's educational role could move on to other challenges closer to classroom practice. A good example of a late 1960s publication was the secondary level book written by Elizabeth Stamp for E J Arnold called *The Hungry World*. In Stamp's recollection, she was asked 'to write a book to explain simply the problems facing "development"' and the book 'was reviewed and sold well'.⁴⁴ Oxfam was at this time seeking partnerships with other organisations and publishers. Its first series of publications had been developed with UNESCO and publications for schools were further developed by Marieke Clarke who had been appointed as a specialist secondary teacher in 1965.⁴⁵ This was to blossom into an innovative series of 'country wallets' during the 1970s (see Chapter Seven).

What Oxfam itself celebrated about the achievements of its growing education programme in England can be traced through articles in its house magazine, *Oxfam News*. In June 1967, Thomas wrote as Education Officer on 'Oxfam's work in Britain' explaining that the concern of Oxfam's Education Department was to 'build up a future public opinion which knows enough and cares enough to support the massive aid necessary to the developing world'.⁴⁶ This is exemplified through the appointment of Area Education Advisers in Central London, Southampton and Birmingham who 'provide a service to teachers similar to that provided by the Local Education Authorities' own advisers in more conventional subjects like Geography and History'. Part of this service task was 'to involve the children in overseas aid problems'.⁴⁷ The educational position being taken at this time was clearly linked to Oxfam's aid programme, as could be expected in an article written primarily for Oxfam's supporters to read. Also, the modest expenditure required to run the Department was pointed out in relation to funds available to Government:

But, just as the aid dispensed by Oxfam plays only a very small part in total world development, so the expenditure of the Education Department is tiny in comparison with the total educational expenditure in England and Wales: 25,000 pounds as compared to over a thousand million pounds.⁴⁸

The article concluded by referring to the scope for collaboration with other agencies, through VCOAD and other organisations, 'to humanize British education and attack world economic problems' through a clear understanding of a role in not trying to do too much alone but at the same time 'maintaining a high professional quality in all our work' in order to stimulate action on the part of the authorities. Thomas argued that the Department should limit its activities to achievable aims:

... to create a demand for development studies and the attitude to teaching that I have outlined earlier; to show through pilot work of various kinds what can be done: and to provide as far as we can a service of information, advice and teaching materials to teachers. Beyond this we cannot at present go...⁴⁹

Therefore, by 1967 and after one year in post as head of the Education Department, Thomas was propounding a realistic vision of how limited innovation in material production and innovative projects could be combined with responding to teachers' needs in order for Oxfam to make a contribution to a field for school learning identified at this time as 'development studies'. An example of progress on the publication and response sides of this activity was the publication of a series of school textbooks with Longmans as the first series of text-books 'about the relief, welfare and long-term development work of a voluntary agency'.⁵⁰ The need for these books was explained to readers of *Oxfam News* as created by new flexibility brought into the secondary school

sector by the Newsom Report and the fact that teachers were 'increasingly keen to awaken their pupils' understanding and concern for the hungry half of the world'.⁵¹ These factors were creating a 'growing need for teaching materials' which 'Oxfam is only too anxious to help satisfy'.⁵² This emphasises how aid and charitable concern, directly linked to Oxfam's overseas work and the UK public's image of it, was the driving force behind the Education Department's vision towards the end of the decade before 'development education' came into current use to describe this area of learning.

In a policy paper on education written near the end of his first term at Oxfam, Thomas outlined for colleagues what he saw as the most important contemporary trends in the educational field of which Oxfam should be aware, including curriculum relevance for all young people as stated in official education reports and particularly the 1963 Newsom Report. Thomas' analysis of this trend was that:

This change in teaching, which is by no means general as yet, has resulted from the appreciation of the fact that in most cases traditional curricula do not succeed in telling children things they need to know about the world.⁵³

This was written in the light of the imminent raising of the school leaving age to sixteen in 1971 and the wider debate over comprehensive schooling which had been heightened during Anthony Crosland's term as Minister of Education and the issuing of Circular 10/65. Thomas also stated the importance of the movement 'towards the abolition of the boundaries between existing disciplines, especially in the field of social studies'. While recognising that Oxfam's educational programme at the time was 'concerned solely with the problems of developing countries', the paper shows awareness of a wider growth in 'development studies' as reflected through VCOAD's emphasis on examination syllabuses. It concludes by stressing the importance of educational evaluation

and of Oxfam's programme becoming more involved in adult and technical education. Although Thomas was soon to resign from Oxfam's Education Department, there can be seen in place here a response to current educational trends which was to flourish when he returned to the Department in the mid 1970s. Where progressive teachers, in the climate of youth activism, were moving out of the organisation to try and meet young people's interests and concerns, fundraisers and keepers of Oxfam's image became alarmed about possibly negative repercussions from the general adult public. Thomas and the Education Department team had to operate within this circle of constraint and they were fully aware of it. This is what caused the internal crisis over what position Oxfam management should take over public awareness in 1970 (see below).

In relation to the position on networking with other NGOs and with VCOAD, a change of emphasis can be detected when Thomas took control of Oxfam's Education Department in 1966. He was part of a working party looking at the possibility of introducing 'world studies' in all schools, which probably came through contact with James Henderson at the University of London Institute of Education.⁵⁴ At a VCOAD meeting in early 1967 'Mr Thomas had reservations about the phrase "purely educational" and stressed the need for opportunities of involvement for children which called for an approach which was not specifically academic'. Furthermore, Mr Thomas argued for 'teaching material' rather than 'textbooks' for 'encouraging development studies in the syllabus at all levels'.⁵⁵ Thomas' more private views on the usefulness of VCOAD at this time are recorded in an internal memo:

We have projects overseas, we have the information, we have the experience; and it seems to me right that these things should be conveyed to schools direct from Oxfam and not via an intermediate agency. We want to discourage the mentality that separates learning from doing. It may be satisfactory for a few bright kids from

lively homes – they can bridge the gap in their minds – but it is most unsatisfactory for the vast majority of kids... favourable results would be to have more schools teaching about overseas development problems as part of the regular course of studies.⁵⁶

In the same month, Beverley Labatt, who had been appointed to work regionally for Oxfam, claimed that it was unrealistic 'to provide a model for the eventual appointment by the LEA of an adviser in world studies', as this would be a role as an education adviser and not organiser, which was 'too idealistic' an aim for Oxfam to achieve when the 'reality is the mental attitude of the educational world to charities'.⁵⁷

Thomas' approach was to create the groundwork with local education authorities which might lead to them seeking to create a post for a world studies adviser. This would be more likely to be achieved through Oxfam's own local influences than through the centralised mechanisms of VCOAD. There was some internal opposition to this. Malcolm Harper questioned whether it was 'logical' to 'approach schools as internationalists and not as Oxfam people' following a 'dictum to the Regional Education Staff' from Thomas.⁵⁸ While Thomas tried to move for this change of emphasis for regional staff working in the education field, he also tried to qualify the capacity of VCOAD to support this kind of approach. In 1968 he sent a paper on future developments to the Deputy Director, Stacey, resisting a proposal to centralise the education work of NGOs into VCOAD because the young still wanted to support a specific NGO, and claiming that 'the name Oxfam is worth many VCOADs'.⁵⁹ Thomas also stated that there would be problems with funding an inter-agency education organisation as other NGOs would not pay even if Oxfam would: 'SCF have all along hung back from any involvement in "professional" aspects of learning about world poverty, Christian Aid have a new education officer, CIIR couldn't, WOW wouldn't, so Oxfam would end up paying most anyway'.⁶⁰ Educational credibility could be better gained in his opinion in appointing teachers to work for

Oxfam and in writing articles for *The Teacher* and the *Times Educational Supplement*. As the most influential and highest spending development NGO working in the formal schools sector, Oxfam could bring much influence to bear on the others and thereby significantly influence the development of VCOAD's Education Unit as a co-ordinating mechanism.

An example of Thomas contributing to the professional press at this time was in a special four page section entitled 'Hunger Brought Home' in the *Times Educational Supplement* in October 1968. Among the articles and NGO advertisements, Thomas wrote about 'Involvement', arguing that schools should be places where value judgements are formed and young people learn for committed action:

A class can do its project on world hunger and instead of putting up the inevitable exhibition on the classroom walls can take it out into the market place, to show that they know and care sufficiently to want other people to know as well.⁶¹

In an internal paper written around this time, Thomas stressed the value he saw in working for a development NGO which had direct contact with the developing world through its programmes, rather than a London-based bureaucratic network that risked taking on an uncontrolled role of its own apart from the NGOs. Thomas wrote that: 'Involvement with the day to day work of an agency like Oxfam gives one a sense of reality and urgency which is all too easy to lose if one sits in a central office discussing curriculum reform. VCOAD have lost this sense, or never had it. CEWC floundered years ago. I don't want our work to go the same way'.⁶² This trend can also be seen in a memo from a regional staff member to Oxfam's Director seeking clarification about the 'co-ordination with VCOAD in our educational work' and asking if 'Oxfam and Christian Aid [are] the leading players – is there a genuine desire for co-operation in a field which is a marginal activity for all the agencies?'⁶³

In October 1967, Thomas wrote an internal memo to Oxfam's Director about VCOAD's Education Unit, to draw attention to 'the problem of our relationship with it'.⁶⁴ From Thomas' own experience with VCOAD's Education Unit, it was 'trying to do two jobs' and not doing them well enough to justify Oxfam's own financial investment in it. He distinguished between the co-ordination role which Oxfam and the other member NGOs had been supporting the Unit to do and the field work and servicing of schools role which it had inherited from FFHC, which risked conflicting with Oxfam's own operational programme for schools. The problem he identified was that the second role meant that VCOAD was acting 'just like any of the VCOAD member organisations' in producing information and making direct responses to schools. One cause for this was a financial imbalance where Derek Walker, the Director of the Unit, was seen to be getting more of his income from FFHC and only £250 from Oxfam. Thomas observed that 'at present I do not think that the VCOAD unit is doing either its field work or its co-ordination and research properly', partly because in Thomas' own view field work was more fun.⁶⁵ He proposed that the Unit should stop doing field work and leave this to the individual member agencies while at the same time Oxfam should increase its financial contribution to the Unit in order to make its co-ordinating and advisory role to the NGOs more effective. This was written in the belief that if the VCOAD unit could be 'clear about its central function' and carry out its work properly 'they really could be a great deal of help to us'.⁶⁶

There is no extant reply from Kirkley to Thomas' memo. By 1971, relations between Oxfam and VCOAD's Education Unit were becoming fraught, over the matter of how the names and logos of the member agencies were being used on sensitive publications without seeking approval. Philip Jackson, Oxfam's Head of Communications, wrote to Frederick Lees, the General Secretary of VCOAD that 'Oxfam will have to seriously reconsider its position as a member agency of VCOAD' and calling for an urgent meeting 'to consider how their interests are to be safeguarded by the staff in Victoria Street' [the then office of VCOAD].⁶⁷

Consequently, relations with VCOAD did form part of Oxfam's policy review of its own educational work during the internal changes of 1970-1971. The Director's 'Appendix A' recognised that 'there has been some confusion both in VCOAD and Oxfam concerning our respective roles in the educational field'.⁶⁸

This paper suggested that:

The role of VCOAD should be co-ordinate the educational work undertaken by the constituent agencies (viz. The Development Puzzle); evaluate the work of all other agencies concerned with education about development and the progress being made (viz. Impact); point out the gaps being left by the agencies' work and suggest ways by which the agencies might collaborate to fill these gaps.⁶⁹

It followed from this that VCOAD should cease to be operational as Oxfam was better placed to involve young people in its direct overseas aid programme. Also there was a danger if Oxfam ceased educational work and left it all to VCOAD that it would not be able to keep its useful contacts with educational institutions. At the bottom line, the Oxfam Director was asking his Executive Committee to accept that 'Up till now Oxfam's work in this field has been far better than that of VCOAD, so to hand over to them on a wide front would probably lead to a drop in standards'.⁷⁰ This position of Oxfam in relation to VCOAD was affirmed by Richard Taylor, the Education Officer, in a later cover note to the Director's 1971 Report, which aimed to clarify that 'there is one job (of co-ordination) for VCOAD and another for the agencies (operational). But when terms of reference are unclear VCOAD tends to wander into the agencies' sphere and vice versa'.⁷¹

The build up to Oxfam's internal crisis: 1968-1970

In 1968, the Anglican priest and television celebrity Nicholas Stacey had been appointed as Oxfam's Deputy Director. Stacey saw the importance of Oxfam

acting to raise public awareness of developing world issues. He argued that this was where the core of Oxfam's efforts should be put, against the more cautious voice of experience from the Director, Leslie Kirkley. Kirkley's long built up position was that the needs of the developing world and the direct alleviation of conditions of poverty and distress had to take priority over Oxfam's domestic activities, beyond the inevitable necessity of raising funds and support from the UK public. In 1970, Stacey resigned his post, causing much speculation in the press about the direction Oxfam was heading, with headings like 'charities in the firing line... problems that arise when Organisations like Oxfam and Shelter get involved in political controversy' and 'How they stymied Nick Stacey'.⁷² It seems part of the climate of the turn of the decade that youth radicalism, CND and revolutionary protest in neighbouring countries and in the United States caused new organisations to spring up, smaller and more focused than the established NGOs. Both the student organisation Third World First and the global issues magazine *The New Internationalist* grew from within Oxfam and split off from the parent body – albeit with continuing financial support – at this time. Thomas' resignation can be seen as part of a trend around 1970 within the UK voluntary sector. This is highlighted by Marcus Thompson, who was appointed as Oxfam's youth officer in 1970 to steady the ship after excessive youth outbursts in the preceding years. Thompson offered a new, more respectable image for Oxfam's youth education programme, attending 'his interview in a suit' and being able to restore youth activities, at least in the eyes of management, in a desirable direction for fundraising initiatives in direct support of Oxfam's overseas work and not any other radical nationally determined agenda.⁷³

The internal debate about the role of education work in Oxfam was highlighted in an appendix to the Director's report to the Executive Committee in September 1971 on 'Formal Education (in schools and colleges)'. This referred back to a paper written by Bernard Llewellyn as Chief Information Officer in 1967 about 'Preserving the Image, Informing and Educating' which had never been satisfactorily answered, although there had been agreements at Executive

Committee level in 1970 that securing support for Oxfam was the main aim of educational work and that a 'specialist education programme relating to World Poverty' could be best achieved through the VCOAD Education Committee.⁷⁴ On the relationship between education and fundraising, the paper recognised the importance of providing young people with 'good, impartial information so that judgements can be made on the basis of real knowledge rather than fancy or prejudice'. This was seen as 'Oxfam's fundamental educational function' and 'the only way that Oxfam can ensure its own future, because fundraising based solely on emotional enthusiasm, though it has its uses, is no sure basis on which to build'. So making a distinction between education and fundraising was seen to be spurious, because:

Our educational work seeks actively to involve young people in the problems of developing countries; this involvement is of itself an educational process; and funds for Oxfam are one of its outcomes. This is fundamentally important for Oxfam and it accords with contemporary schools of thought in education which are increasingly in favour of learning-cum-action.⁷⁵

Evidence for this clarification of education policy included the high rate of enquiries from teachers and young people, averaging eighty-six a week, the dissemination of school materials brochures to all Local Education Authorities, the perceived cost-effectiveness of working with Colleges of Education and the growing credibility of Oxfam's classroom materials as 'pace-setters in the rapidly expanding field of development studies'.⁷⁶ In terms of Oxfam's capacity to carry out this education programme, the paper referred to existing staff as three Assistant Organisers in London with specific responsibilities for education and youth work, as well as an Assistant Organiser (Education) in Birmingham working with an Assistant Organiser (Youth). It was envisaged that further Assistant Organisers would be appointed in areas of high population density. Misunderstandings between the roles of these Oxfam staff members and

Regional Organisers, and between the Regions and Education Departments in Oxfam House were acknowledged, with all sides seen to be complementary because their jobs were different. The paper also explored in some depth the nature of Oxfam's relationship with VCOAD, both for adult education and work with young people.

This internal debate about the relative merits of being an aid organisation or a public awareness raising one was reported to supporters through the pages of *Oxfam News* in 1970. With reference to the effect of the Council's policy decision to reject allocating funds to 'political pressure', the director announced how this was linked to 'new plans' for Oxfam's youth and education programmes as a widening of their scope. In his words, this was on account of young voters 'becoming increasingly impatient for action'.⁷⁷ The major impact of Oxfam's new thinking about its domestic education work was to come through increasing adult education through a series of seminars and an expanded youth programme 'to provide a means of expression for the rapidly increasing number of young people deeply concerned about world poverty'.⁷⁸ This programme was to relate to 'the immigrant young' and to opportunities for overseas service through Oxfam, linking these to youth support groups in the home country. There was also to be increased support for work in universities, through endorsement of the educational content of Third World First campaigns. Significantly, although this front-page article was headed as 'Plans to widen education and youth work', there was no mention in it to work in the schools sector within the United Kingdom.

Reflecting on the internal crisis of 1970, Nicholas Stacey published a review article of a new book about Oxfam, re-visiting how he saw 'Oxfam's Dilemma'. The question he asked was 'have the low-key educational programmes of Oxfam and the other agencies been successful in influencing public opinion and government to maintain governmental overseas aid budgets?' Stacey's answer in 1983 was 'no', stating the challenge for Oxfam still to be:

If Oxfam took a gamble and spent more of its income... in a major public education campaign about the needs of the third world and the importance of government aid and the terms of trade, and so on, would it be a more effective way of improving the lot of the suffering millions overseas? I know I am biased as I resigned over this issue 13 years ago, but I believe that it is a gamble Oxfam really should have taken.⁷⁹

Stacey's article highlights his view that lobbying the government for an expanded aid programme should have been Oxfam's key public awareness challenge, and that its education programmes should have been directed to this end. Although there is internal evidence that Stacey and Thomas were not close collaborators, Thomas' participation in the radical aid agenda of the *Haslemere Declaration* (see Chapter Six) might indicate that he could identify with Stacey's position. It is certain that both chose to resign from Oxfam during 1970.⁸⁰ However, the schools' education programme that was emerging inside Oxfam under Thomas' guidance was becoming more than a programme for learning about the scale and operation of British government aid. In other words, producing resources and projects acceptable to the school system meant thinking through where young people and their teachers were coming from and therefore putting aid dilemmas into a wider global socio-cultural context.

Thomas himself resigned from Oxfam's Education Department towards the end of 1970 to set up Antipoverty (see Chapter Six). There are hints in his writing to the Director about setting up an 'education organisation' separate from Oxfam and, subsequently, that 'at present Oxfam as a whole is playing at education and youth work' so it should decide to 'abandon attempts to carry out a worthwhile youth and education programme under circumstances which have broken the hearts of nearly every member of staff appointed to it... and to concentrate support for its overseas aid programme'.⁸¹ These circumstances

would certainly have included financial constraints on the work of the Education Department.⁸² At this point Thomas was gaining professional credibility for himself and Oxfam's domestic education programme, as evidenced by the invitation from Freedom from Hunger and UNESCO to lead a workshop at the conference on development education in Sweden. This is the first identifiable European conference to use this term and is also a tribute to the educational impact that Thomas' work for Oxfam was making in the UK. The invitation letter from FAO stated that:

We have been greatly impressed here by the way Mr Thomas has developed the educational side of Oxfam's programme and can think of no better person to direct this meeting which we feel can be a major breakthrough for development education on the overall European educational front.⁸³

While Thomas must have been reflecting on how the new term might have value in a UK context, he was no longer working for Oxfam and thereby had a reduced scope of finance and educational influence, but greater freedom to experiment educationally. Therefore, a consequence of his resignation can be seen as providing Thomas with a four year period of reflection from which he was able to return to Oxfam and be influential in the growth of development education during the mid 1970s.

Summary of the first phase of Oxfam's Education Department

Along an axis from *Education for International Understanding* to *Education for World Citizenship*, as plotted by Robert Sylvester, Oxfam's initiatives lie more at the latter end.⁸⁴ This means that the emerging Oxfam view of 'development education' was that learning based on Oxfam's field experience should convey realities of life in economically poorer countries and possibilities for people to improve their livelihoods in partnership with external NGOs. This was more than

learning about processes of development and under-development: it was also learning for development as a universal human experience.

Beyond debates within the education departments of development NGOs and with regional staff, there was a high level of debate about education and public awareness at director's level. The director of Christian Aid sent 'a very serious proposal' to Oxfam's director in 1968. This suggested an increase in the agencies' collaboration for 'international economic justice' so as not to be limited in the public view to being 'relief charities'. Booth recognised that a balance between the two had to be held or else donors and the Charity Commissioners could cause 'massive troubles':

If... we become too active, too aggressive or too radical in the political field we will undermine the structures and support by which we currently work and live.⁸⁵

A number of trends and initiatives seem to have been combining here in the later 1960s. Firstly there was undoubtedly greater public interest in the developing world, as signified by the first UN Development Decade, by media coverage of crises in the Congo and later Biafra caused by clumsy European decolonisation. Public responses can be seen in the aid manifesto drawn up by activists in 1968 that impacted on the Overseas Development Minister at the time, Reginald Prentice.⁸⁶ There was a current of popular activism for the plight of the world's poor that mirrored the campaigning activities of CND activists. The Charity Commission obliged VCOAD activists to set up a separate and non-charitable World Development Movement to carry out its campaigns. Thomas himself became involved in the drawing up and publishing of the 1968 *Haslemere Declaration* which led to plans for campaigning activities. The Movement for Colonial Freedom briefly toyed with a campaigning youth section at this time. Oxfam's own youth activities flourished leading to many Youth against Hunger events, sponsored walks and fasts. What Thomas had to decide

was the extent to which Oxfam could be allowed to push into similar kinds of activities in its formal work with schools and teachers, and whether this would benefit more or be hindered more through liaison with other NGOs either on a one-to-one basis or through VCOAD.

NGO education staff in Thomas' position could endeavour to exert direct leverage at national level through contact with Government departments. Reg Prentice had been impressed by the level of public, politicised activity by young people to increase the level of Britain's aid. However, there is much less evidence of a related influence on the teaching profession. One crux here is to assess the level of interchange and influence within government between the Overseas Development and Education Ministries. It is significant that a Minister of Overseas Development like Prentice could express himself by the end of the decade as frustrated with the limited role available to him in what he saw as in reality as no more than a 'Ministry of Aid'.⁸⁷ Prentice subsequently became Minister of Education and then again Minister of Overseas Development, so his views on any inter-connectedness between the 'domestic' and 'overseas' offices is important to ascertain (see Chapter Seven for Prentice's role during the 1970s).

In the obituary of Thomas written by Marieke Clarke and Pete Davis, there are reflections on what he brought to the organisation and what fluctuating levels of support for his ideas he met with there. On the late 1960s phase:

The Department was going through a hard time when Og's inspiration began to blow through it. Using his teaching skills and his radical development analysis, he put Oxfam's Education Department at the forefront of UK educational and Third World thinking. He challenged his staff, whom he handled with the greatest care and trust, to rethink their understanding of what schooling was about... Staff were required to undergo youth work

as well as teacher training so that they put the young person, not the subject, at the centre of attention. The Department's role was to communicate to young people the thinking, experience and struggles of the Third World oppressed. Og showed how to do this through music and cooking as well as through social studies and youth work. The Department's motto was 'Study and Action'.⁸⁸

Learning locally: an Oxfam Youth Conference at Keele

An important dynamic for change in the emergence of development education during the late 1960s was in youth work, which was a separate department in Oxfam's structure. The youth team led by David Moore inspired youth activities around the country which included sponsored fasts and walks, folk musicians and a regular YOB (Young Oxfam Bulletin) publication which, according to one critical Oxfam staff member 'did not appeal to headmasters'.⁸⁹ An example of this less cautious fervour carrying over from the youth team to the Education Department's activities was the 'teach-in' organised for young people at Stowe School, a private school, in 1966. The promotional leaflet for this event stated its aim for participants to 'Think out what the youth of any country, or an individual young person, can do to help development'.⁹⁰ Two representatives from the ODM also participated. The press covered the 'political edge' to the event, describing it as 'like a splinter group for a future British civil rights movement'. The same article in *The Observer* quoted an Oxfam staff member's cautious criticism of this new wave of youth activism which Oxfam was apparently unleashing: '... as soon as we start talking politics, we've got no income. People are trying to find in Oxfam something it can't be: a new religion or a new political party. This will endanger everything'.⁹¹

The following year, from 23 to 28 July 1967, one hundred and thirty-five young people took part in a joint Oxfam-UNA Youth Conference at Keele University which included a large-scale simulation activity called 'The Hunger Game'. This

was seen by the organisers as 'an attempt to teach young people something about the realities of international politics as they affect aid-giving to the developing countries'.⁹² There was a flurry of hectic, dramatised events during the central two days of the conference, as when:

India found itself in the midst of a more desperate food crisis than it had ever known before – Britain devalued the pound – the Heads of state of Great Britain, the USA and the USSR met at a secret summit meeting – the integrity of the Chairman of the UN Assembly was called into question – the Pope paid a visit to the Assembly – the big powers led by the US threatened to pack their bags and leave...⁹³

The game worked through groups of participants playing roles as developed or developing countries or international organisations. These sent delegates to a sitting session of the UN General Assembly, where issues could be debated and resolved. There was also a 'Communications and Propaganda' group which produced an on-going stream of press releases and news statements, often of a deliberately confusing nature. The initial premise of the game was a crisis famine scenario developing in India. Involvement in the activity took some building up, but by the time of the crisis summit meeting it began to develop a vitality of its own, such that 'participants became genuinely involved in their roles and some most genuine heat was engendered'.⁹⁴ In his evaluation of the game, Alan Davidson pondered whether this was more than 'just "fun" for teenagers'. In the view of George Clark, the Director of the Notting Hill Summer Project who had acted as the chair of the UN General Assembly during the game, 'the standard of debate from 18 and 19-year-olds was higher than I could have hoped in many a day. I have heard speeches which would not have disgraced politicians at Westminster'.⁹⁵ One of the young participants in the game, Lynda Davidson, was full of enthusiasm, saying 'It was wonderful, absolutely wonderful. I learned an enormous amount'.⁹⁶ One concrete outcome from

taking part in the game was the sending of messages from the Conference to the real heads of the eleven states which had been represented, holding them to account for the principles of the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

The Hunger Game at the Keele Youth Conference represents an innovative step forward in Oxfam's educational work. The Youth Team had brought a dimension of fun-based imaginative learning to the complex issues of world politics and development action. The game was devised in consultation with experts from the world of education, particularly the geographer already well known for designing simulation-based learning, Rex Walford. Walford has commented that he had reservations about the name of the game at the time, as this might tend to pre-judge outcomes in relation to hunger where a positive view of the world might be achievable through the use of more positive titling.⁹⁷ As developed in Chapter Seven, there was a progressive move during the 1970s to bring aspects of psychological learning theory to the use of smaller-scale role-play activities in classroom learning. However, the late 1960s era of eye-catching and dramatic staging of events like Youth against Hunger rallies was the time when a pioneering three-day simulation like the Oxfam-UNA 'Hunger Game' evolved. It was also held during an event when young people from all across the United Kingdom travelled to a university campus in the West Midlands to express their concern and willingness to learn about developing world issues. This is to see the West Midlands of England in a wide regional sense as encompassing Oxfam's base in Oxford as well as the Keele University campus. Keele University itself played a role in the development of international understanding in England (see Chapter Eight). Here it is cited as an example of a widening out from London as a base for new learning strategies. As the second largest conurbation in the country, Birmingham and its surrounding hinterland became an increasingly important area in the development education story, not least as the site of the first properly recognisable Development Education Centre during the 1970s (see Chapter Seven).

Conclusions on Oxfam's role in the 1960s

From its origins in 1942 until the start of organised schools' work from 1959 onwards, Oxfam established itself in British public consciousness as an effective aid organisation relieving suffering and poverty in the poorest countries of the Third World. From this base, teachers approached Oxfam to request what they expected such an organisation to provide, which was generally more negative imagery of conditions of under-development and disaster. Once there was an Education Department in place and trained teachers working for it, this basically responsive programme became more proactive in seeking to work directly with teachers for learning materials and methodologies in a framework of developing curriculum opportunities in a new area of school learning that came over time to be termed as 'development education'. As an educational movement, this grew particularly during the 1960s in partnership with like-minded voluntary organisations and with variable support from central government ministries, particularly the Ministry for Overseas Development. However, there were always internal restraints on what an NGO-based education programme could achieve in the educational field. These were particularly evident in the internal tensions generated during the last years of the 1960s, when the emergency caused by the Biafran war led to a large-scale increase in Oxfam's influence in the aid field and as a critical force against government foreign and aid policy towards Nigeria.⁹⁸ As Tony Vaux who was working for Oxfam at the time has said more recently:

In the 1960s, the spread of TV brought the emotional impact of humanitarian disaster directly into people's homes. Oxfam rose to national prominence during the Biafran war which was the first humanitarian disaster to be seen by millions of people and also the first to be the subject of systematic distortion.⁹⁹

This new emphasis on using the media, even if ostensibly for fundraising purposes inevitably had an influence on the nature of Oxfam's messages for schools. Where teachers could be even more likely to approach a relief agency for Biafra-type imagery to share with their pupils, education staff of the agencies had to work against this trend in order to establish more positive understanding of the realities of daily life in distant 'developing' countries. From this perspective, the growth in favour of development education inspired by Oxfam's Education Department can be understood. Its function was to try and create a more positive and active field for learning about 'development' as a hope for the future of people in the world's poorest countries, in counter to prevailing images of disaster and unstoppable poverty. In an overview of 'Oxfam and development' written by Oxfam's Information Officer in the early 1980s, the organisation 'can take some credit for the wider interest in the Third World that has developed in Britain in the last twenty years' but this was achieved not without some measure of public criticism because 'its very size, its early pioneering of press advertising, and the now omnipresent Oxfam shop have all contributed to an image which provides a ready target for the "antis" who question how much money actually goes overseas or the apparently affluent lifestyles of charity workers 'unaware that the Charity Commissioners would close down any charity acting in so profligate a manner, a safeguard for the British public that many other countries do not enjoy'.¹⁰⁰

From within the profession, educators could see the value of Oxfam's move into awareness-raising through involvement with teachers and pupils in schools. Derek Heater could see this in writing his book on *World Studies* in 1980, coming from a long background in promoting political education. Heater wrote that:

Among the voluntary associations... that have shown themselves especially conscious of the potential of educational activities have been the bodies engaged in charitable activities on behalf of the

underdeveloped countries – Oxfam, Freedom from Hunger Campaign, Christian Aid, Third World First and the like.¹⁰¹

In Heater's view 'the real breakthrough' came with the creation of VCOAD in 1966.¹⁰² This chapter has examined VCOAD's role as a networking body for development education and the contribution of Oxfam to VCOAD. This enables a deeper exploration of the dilemma for NGOs active in the field at this time, whether to strengthen their own educational image from internal pressures to promote the organisation or whether to give scope for development of educational programmes to a wider organisation or network which NGO members could influence but not ultimately control. This also bears on the ways NGOs could choose to interact with and seek to influence central government.

If the sources of development education in England can be traced far back and through a number of different channels, it seems certain that the decade of the 1960s, the UN's first Development Decade, was a formative period, with Oxfam's Education Department as a main player in NGO and government networks. From 1959 to 1971, Oxfam's Education Department helped to create an identity for an area of learning that was defined in its content through its focus on the 'developing world' and in its growing methodology on active learning for change.

The role that government played in this networking story gives rise to an important question: how could these relations best be described, whether as more supportive or more restrictive for the kind of progress in public awareness of development issues that the NGO sector increasingly desired? The Government was actually more interested in promoting development awareness than their careful wordplay between levels of 'uninterest' and 'disinterest' suggests. Setting up VCOAD was an ODM initiative and ODM funds were called on to help it survive as NGO support weakened. Officials could see clear lines of control of VCOAD or separate NGOs when they were seen to be becoming too

politicised in their activities. For example, when Mr Oram, a Junior Minister at the ODM, took part in an Oxfam walk from Croydon to Hampstead in May 1967 the Prime Minister was notified about this with the Cabinet Secretary's doubts 'not because Oxfam is anything other than respectable but because he wondered whether any Minister ought, as a matter of principle, be allowed to take part in this kind of public event'. Harold Wilson signed the memo in green ink, noting 'I have in fact agreed to sponsor him at 2/6d a mile'.¹⁰³ Officials continuously expressed their belief in the autonomy of the NGOs and their reluctance to intervene in their internal affairs, even if despairing at times about lack of cohesion within the NGO sector.¹⁰⁴ The official position on development awareness, at least from the ODM, could therefore be characterised as more supportive than restrictive, although the support tended to come in waves that followed the enthusiasm and interests of particular officials.

References to Chapter Five

¹ Smith, D. (1966). The Oxfam section is at pages 385-399.

² CEWC Annual Reports.

³ From the pamphlet 'Parliamentary Group for World Government 1947-1977 and One World Trust 1952-1977: Accomplishments, Aspirations and Supporters' published by the PGWG and OWT in November 1977, page 1.

⁴ Ibid., page 2.

⁵ UNA-UK files at the London School of Economics.

⁶ Fabian records at the London School of Economics: WG/MOD/6.

⁷ National Archives: PREM 13/57. This sentence was omitted when the telegram was sent to Dr Banda.

⁸ Fabian records: WG/MOD/6.

⁹ Tweddle, D. (1974).

¹⁰ National Archives: OD10/176, 10 February 1966 note on file.

¹¹ This research draws on personal memories from Oxfam, CIIR, UNA, War on Want and Derek Walker (see 'Informants' and 'Archives' sections of the Bibliography).

- ¹² National Archives: OD10/176, minutes of the 16 September 1965 meeting.
- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Derek Walker interview, 3 May 2006 and subsequent correspondence.
- ¹⁵ National Archives: OD25/206. A. M. Turner memo to Mr Leach, 7 March 1967.
- ¹⁶ Ibid. Letter from F. Judd to R. Prentice, 12 October 1967, welcoming his speech 'as good news for all of us who care about overseas aid and development. We shall quote it back at you for years to come'.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. A. Turner memo to Mr Leach, 7 March 1967.
- ¹⁸ Ibid. Notes by A.T.O. on 10 March 1967 and G.M.W. on 3 April 1967.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. Letter from L. Kirkley to R. Prentice, 13 October 1967. Prentice replied to this letter on 20 October 1967 about how voluntary organisations were 'useful pressure groups'.
- ²⁰ Ibid. L. Kirkley letter, 17 July 1969.
- ²¹ Ibid. Press cutting from 22 August 1969. Prentice papers at the London School of Economics: article in *International Affairs* 46(1) of January 1970, page 4.
- ²² National Archives: OD10/176, Letter of 24 January 1966. Neville's comment is from minutes of the 26 July 1976 VCOAD Education Committee meeting.
- ²³ Ibid. Recorded in the Minute of the 23 November 1966 VCOAD Education Committee meeting that the ODM representative stated that "VCOAD was hardly an appellation that stirred hearts".
- ²⁴ Ibid. J. Anderson note, 4 February 1966. E. West added his opinion that: 'This is a fuss about nothing. We are disinterested, which is not the same as uninterested'.
- ²⁵ Ibid. Minute of 9 March 1966 meeting of VCOAD Education Committee.
- ²⁶ Ibid. Note on file from 2 June 1967.
- ²⁷ National Archives: OD24/68, meeting of the PGWG Education Advisory Committee on 12 December 1966.
- ²⁸ National Archives: OD10/176, D. Beaty to J. Anderson internal note, 3 November 1966.
- ²⁹ See also Derek Walker's account of VCOAD as 'The fall and rise of development education in the United Kingdom', in Walker, D. (1982).
- ³⁰ Black, M. (1992), page 102; confirmed by B. Jackson et. al. at interview 22 March 2006 (see Appendix Two).
- ³¹ Black, M. (1992), page 102.

³² Oxfam: DEV/4/1/1, 17 March 1964 memo by J Strickland.

³³ Ibid., undated memo by J. Strickland.

³⁴ Elizabeth Stamp questionnaire, November 2007.

³⁵ From Marieke Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008. According to Clarke, Og Thomas believed that even if the Education Department ceased to exist, the letters would still have to be answered.

³⁶ Correspondence with John Colclough in December 2006: 'those of us in the Sec. Mods thought a little differently. We embraced the... ideas of the Common Core Curriculum... We wanted consideration to be given in HOW?..., not in THAT'S IT!' See also Colclough, J. (1977).

³⁷ Oxfam: DEV/4/1/1, March 1964 Executive Committee paper.

³⁸ Ibid., August 1964 paper on the Education Department by B. Jackson.

³⁹ Ibid., 25 January 1965 memo.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 8 August 1966 memo.

⁴¹ Ibid., 8 August 1966 memo.

⁴² Ibid., August 1966 memo. Jackson wrote that for Oxfam to be seen as a campaigning organisation 'would be almost synonymous with its having political objectives and it is not clearly established whether or not a charity in this country may have political objectives as its chief objective'.

⁴³ Ibid., 5 October 1966, memo.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Stamp questionnaire, November 2007.

⁴⁵ Marieke Clarke interview on 22 March 2006 and notes on the thesis draft, August 2008. Clarke recalled that Jonathan Hanson had started on secondary materials with the same country themes as the earlier UNESCO materials for primary schools. This role was taken over by her on appointment in 1965.

⁴⁶ *Oxfam News*: June 1967, page 6.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ *Oxfam News*: October 1967.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Oxfam Directors' Files: undated paper c.1969-1970, page 1.

⁵⁴ Oxfam: DEV4/1/3, 30 December 1966, report on fourth meeting of the working party by O. Thomas. The point about the influence of Henderson is supported by a letter in the Directors' Files from L. Kirkley (Oxfam's Director) to P. Hoy at the DES on 9 May 1967 referring to Henderson's seeking financial support for 'travelling lecturers in world studies'. Kirkley seems to have adapted this to terminology more familiar to the DES at that time, by referring to its 'long record of interest in education for international understanding'.

⁵⁵ Oxfam: DEV4/2/9, 28 April 1947, VCOAD minutes.

⁵⁶ Oxfam: DEV4/1/3, 30 May 1967, memo.

⁵⁷ Ibid., 10 May 1967, memo.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 18 August 1967, memo by M. Harper.

⁵⁹ Oxfam: DEV4/1/2 paper 1047/a, from O. Thomas to N. Stacey, undated (c. mid 1968).

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Thomas, O. (1968), page 689.

⁶² Oxfam: DEV4/1/2, paper 1047a.

⁶³ Oxfam Directors' Files: 4 August 1967, B. Llewelyn to L. Kirkley.

⁶⁴ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas memo to L. Kirkley, 25 October 1967, page 1.

⁶⁵ Ibid., page 1.

⁶⁶ Ibid., page 2.

⁶⁷ Oxfam Directors' Files: P. Jackson letter, 6 April 1971

⁶⁸ Appendix 'A' to the Director's Report to the Executive Committee, 16 September 1971, page 4.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Oxfam Directors' Files: R. Taylor memo, 10 July 1972.

⁷² Ivan Yates in *The Observer*, 11 January 1970; Martin Wollacott in *The Guardian*, 24 January 1970.

⁷³ Marcus Thompson interview, 10 December 2007.

⁷⁴ Appendix "A" to the Director's Report to the Executive Committee, 16 September 1971, section A1.

⁷⁵ Ibid., section B3.

⁷⁶ Ibid., section D4.

⁷⁷ *Oxfam News*: September 1970, page 1.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁹ *New Society*: January 1983, reviewing Ben Whitaker's book on Oxfam's first 40 years.

⁸⁰ Marieke Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008, refer to differences between Stacey and Thomas.

⁸¹ Oxfam Directors' Files: 15 May 1970; DEV4/1/3, 25 September 1970 memo.

⁸² Marieke Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008.

⁸³ Internal Oxfam file on Thomas' departure, with letter of invitation. The Bergendal conference is referred to further in Chapters Six and Seven.

⁸⁴ See the Introduction, page 13, for an explanation of Robert Sylvester's mapping of international education.

⁸⁵ Oxfam Directors' Files: 6 August 1968, A. Booth to L. Kirkley.

⁸⁶ Prentice papers at the London School of Economics: 2/2, article in *International Affairs Royal Institute of International Affairs* 46(1), January 1970. Prentice was reflecting on his time at the ODM, during which he had seen NGOs 'become much more concerned with political pressure and public education' (page 4) carried out by a 'growing army of young workers for OXFAM and Christian Aid' (page 10).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, page 10.

⁸⁸ 'Og Thomas', from *One World Linking* magazine, Autumn 1992.

⁸⁹ *The Observer*: 24 July 1966; in the ODM's Oxfam press cuttings file, National Archives OD10/161.

⁹⁰ From the 'Point Five' leaflet, named as the target percentage of GNP for British overseas aid.

⁹¹ *The Observer*: 24 July 1966.

⁹² *Oxfam News*: September 1967.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁹⁷ Email correspondence with Rex Walford, 2006.

⁹⁸ See Black, M. (1992), pages 118-131, on how the 'humanitarian zeal and naivety' of the relief agencies were effectively misled by the Biafran publicity machine into exaggerating the nature of the claimed 'genocide' in Biafra.

⁹⁹ Vaux, T. (2001), page 84.

¹⁰⁰ Stamp, E. (1982).

¹⁰¹ Heater, D. (1980), page 81.

¹⁰² Ibid., page 82.

¹⁰³ National Archives: PREM 13/1642, internal memo of 2 May 1967.

¹⁰⁴ As noted in ODM records on VCOAD: 'Voluntary organisations in this country are determined to remain independent of government': National Archives OD10/176, note on file for 9 March 1966.

Chapter Six

Antipoverty: 1971-1974

This chapter traces the educational projects of Antipoverty, a national organisation set up and run by Og Thomas between his two terms as head of Oxfam's Education Department. It also explores links between this Third World awareness programme and anti-poverty movements within England in order to show the evolving concept of 'development education' at this time and how it related to, differed from and could be said to have influenced Oxfam's growing theory and practice in the field.

Social welfare networks up to the early 1970s

During the 1960s, there was a growth in anti-poverty awareness and activity in the UK. Ken Loach's documentary drama *Cathy Come Home* broadcast in 1966 gave support to the movement to set up Shelter as a charity helping homeless people. The Child Poverty Action Group started the following year, as a lobby for increasing government action against child poverty. The Labour MP Ben Whitaker published a Fabian Research Pamphlet in 1968 comparing British social provision with 'anti-poverty' actions in the United States and calling for a more co-ordinated response to poverty against what he portrayed as a rather bland 'Crossmanism'.¹ Harold Silver, writing on 'education against poverty', has described the 1970s as 'characterised by a decline in the confidence in educational policies which had caused high expectations in the previous decade'.²

As a member of VCOAD, Save the Children could have played a significant role here. This was the one development NGO in the network which also had a

significant presence in anti-poverty activities at home. Indeed, the Save the Children Fund had grown since its foundation in 1919 as predominantly active in the United Kingdom, with its first conference on 'The African Child' not taking place until the late 1920s. By the mid-1960s, when an official history of the Fund was written, work with schools was well developed, especially through a termly magazine for pupils called *Today's Children* which provided 'news of S.C.F. work at home and abroad'.³ The description of schools work provided is closely tied in with fundraising activities and by far the largest element of materials produced for schools and articles in the parent magazine *The World's Children* covered overseas topics. This is hardly surprising, given that 'world poverty' was a far more popular and approachable topic for learning in schools than UK poverty.⁴ Save the Children is therefore an example of a weak linkage between overseas poverty groupings and home-based ones.

The first development education organisation

Setting up Antipoverty

Og Thomas resigned his post as Oxfam's education director and at the same time was invited to be co-director of the first European conference on development education held in Sweden in November 1970 (see Chapter Five). Thomas' summary report of the conference recorded an awareness in himself and participants that development education was potentially about more than learning about the poverty of developing countries:

... development is not just a question of economic growth. It is also a process of political and social change. Such changes are on the whole ignored by those working in 'the development field'.⁵

This led Thomas to the conclusion that:

... what our young people learn about development is of paramount importance. It is not just a question of making friends with people from other countries: this is very valuable, but ignores the national and international structures which control the pace and nature of development. It is not just a question of getting children to raise money. This too is valuable, but only under certain conditions. We spoke of a far more fundamental task: '... the urgent need to enable children to acquire an open view on the problems of their age...'.⁶

On return from Sweden, Thomas set up a smaller-scale educational organisation to which he gave the bold name Antipoverty. It could be supposed that in choosing this title, one of Thomas' aims was to make stronger connections between raising awareness of poverty issues in the developing world and at home than he had been able to do under the aegis of Oxfam. As this chapter shows, there were indeed links made with UK antipoverty networks and organisations but an overall analysis shows that the educational activities of Antipoverty were firmly focused on the Third World. What was new in the approach was the attempt to make viable learning links with issues at home and young people's capacities for action to combat effects of poverty both in overseas settings and, if they chose to, nearer to their home settings. Therefore there is some justification in Thomas calling his organisation – in a retrospective view from the late 1980s – 'the first development education organisation' in England. While it was fully operational between 1971 and 1974, Antipoverty chose to promote its work under the by-line 'Education for Development'.

For four years, Antipoverty attempted to inspire innovative learning projects in both formal and informal sectors of education. Although Antipoverty ran out of funds and lost most of its staff to Oxfam after this, the concept of 'study/action' learning carried over to the wider movement for development education which came to fruition in 1978.

Thomas was the National Organiser of Antipoverty from 1971 to 1974. He saw this as 'the first organisation in UK to specialise in Development Education', doing so as a registered charity running 'a series of experimental curriculum and youth work projects with Local Authorities' which resulted in producing materials and publishing reports.⁷ Antipoverty ran initially from Thomas' home in Wolvercote in North Oxford and took on an office and paid administrator in West Smithfield in London in 1971. After 1974 when Thomas returned to head up Oxfam's Education Department the scale of the organisation dwindled, although Thomas remained as a director and chief administrator. Two of Antipoverty's chief educators – Paul Sherlock on technical education initiatives and Barbara Bond on youth exchange initiatives – both moved into Oxfam's Education Department in due course, following Thomas.

Antipoverty was successful in attracting influential sponsors including the former Conservative Minister of Education, Lord Boyle, and also Sir Ronald Gould and Reginald Prentice. This gave credibility to the new concept of a development education charity and helped to attract funding from educational and corporate sources. Initial documents put out by Antipoverty show a wide range of ambitious aims, including direct linking and support projects in developing countries and importing and selling craft work from cooperatives.⁸ However, there was real financial difficulty in running such an innovative and ambitious programme.⁹ This phase of Thomas' career can be seen as an opportunity to step into new educational territory for a charitable organisation, which at the same time restricted the scale of operation that he had known and was to know again with Oxfam's Education Department. Thomas once described working for Antipoverty as relying on 'just begging'.¹⁰

Study-action projects

The most successful innovative work of Antipoverty was in technical and youth education. Paul Sherlock's work with Rolls Royce apprentices in Bristol and

Barbara Bond's youth exchange programme between Leicestershire and Nigeria had large impacts on their own careers and on these areas of learning.¹¹ In relation to the formal sector, which was work directly inspired and led by Thomas himself, there is less evidence of impact although there are articles that he wrote at the time to promote and explain this work. The most significant of these was a series of short explanatory pieces in the new World Studies Bulletin of *New Era* (see below for publishing and media outreach).¹²

The first article, from late 1971, introduced Antipoverty to teachers and referred to the preparation of a set of teaching materials before becoming operational 'in order to give interested parties some idea of at least one of the ways in which we would carry out our proposed programme', inviting teachers to make contact with the organisation.¹³

The second article, from late 1972, described a 'study-action programme' for lower junior classes in the UK to study and support a farming community in To Kok Li in South Korea. The Korean villagers who were refugees from North Korea had built up a farming community despite a shortage of land. They were undertaking land reclamation from the sea in order to increase their rice crop, with international support from War on Want. The Antipoverty proposal was to produce classroom materials including workcards, a story book and a set of photographs to show primary pupils in UK schools the way of life and need for land, together with the 'request for help' from the villages and teachers' notes to help develop a possible response to this, linked to deepening understanding of parallel issues in a UK context to include farming, refugees and use of water.¹⁴ There are elements here of learning aspects that are regarded as important for later development education practice, including direct contact with developing world realities and similarities with development processes nearer home.

In the third article of late 1973, the To Kok Li project was presented as having been reduced in scale from one that would have had a paid organiser, because

'we weren't able to raise the money to take one on'. This hindered the implementation of the 'action' part of the programme in terms of London school children giving ongoing and direct support to the Korean community. However, Thomas does point out that the 'study' dimension had been developed through the production of wall charts and leaflets, including how London children 'are involved in the village's development plans and how money can be raised'.¹⁵ This article also presented progress with a second study-action project for lower secondary pupils on the topic of housing, linking schools in Manchester with a shanty town community in Mathare, Nairobi, Kenya and Nadiad, Gujarat State, India (see local section below). Thomas felt the need to emphasise the new educational approach he was trying to develop for learning about Third World development issues, that study should lead to some form of action. He believed that pupils should 'have to deal with a genuine choice in taking action or not'.¹⁶ This concept was linked to the introduction of plans for four more study/action projects: on rural health in Bolivia for 9-11s, on village development in India for 11-13s, on urbanisation and slums in Accra, Ghana for 14-16s and on the EEC and sugar and cotton trade for sixth forms:

The aims of all this activity are two-fold: to make a contribution to the education of young people in the U.K.; and to make a contribution to world development. We deliberately don't rate either aim above the other: our purpose is not simply to use world poverty as a useful peg to hang a teaching programme on; nor simply to fling battalions of young people into the fight for development. In our view each is truly complementary to the other: one of the essential ingredients in any world wide development effort is education; and one of the essential ingredients in any child's education is that he or she should be aware of one of the major issues of our time, and equipped to take some kind of hand in it.¹⁷

Possibly at this point the origin of development education as a distinct learning area in the UK can be seen. Thomas' projects aimed to bring the real world contacts and experience of the NGO sector into active engagement with LEAs and teachers looking for more meaningful ways of learning about the developing world. Thomas concluded this article by speculating about this process that 'we suppose that it must be beneficial for developing countries' to have young people in a developed country taking this active approach to learning about them. If this is accepted, then it becomes important to understand the mechanics for achieving it, which 'won't be by teachers alone', nor 'by voluntary organisations' campaigns to recruit the hearts and minds of young people'. Thomas believed that Antipoverty was trying to show the way to help each group to be 'more receptive to the other' as 'not an easy job in the early stages, but in the long run of tremendous mutual benefit'.¹⁸

In a series of Progress Reports on Antipoverty between 1973 and 1974, Thomas spelled out for members and supporters the difficulties in running this kind of innovative organisation on a low budget. He referred to how an increasing amount of his own time as Director was being taken up by fundraising appeals to trusts and businesses. By May 1973, he was reporting that 'From the point of view of income these last two months have certainly not been good and Antipoverty is now down to its last £1000'.¹⁹ At the same time, logistical difficulties in linking Third World contexts with learning at home were emerging. Correspondence from Gujarat State in India was lost in the post, for example.²⁰ Other projects had to be postponed through delays in publishing or more simply because the original vision of entry into schools had proved to be more difficult. This is reflected in a report on the decision by the middle of 1973 'to abandon the original Antipoverty plans in favour of a more gradual kind of growth'.²¹

The 'National Organiser's Report' of July 1973 was more positive in recording 'the willing cooperation of Local Education Authorities' in helping to appoint Anti-Poverty's project leaders, introduce them to schools and offer some office

accommodation and facilities. However, even with this note of optimism, Thomas felt bound to underline that 'only rarely has a school taken the opportunities offered to link study with a related action programme, or continued with this work once the services of our project leader are withdrawn'.²² His conclusion was that teachers needed to be more closely involved in the projects at an earlier stage, because not all could be left in the hands of the external project leaders who were often not physically based inside the system. Bob Raikes in Manchester, for example did not succeed in acquiring an office base within the LEA and so had to settle for a room in a neighbourhood community centre. At the same time, the growing body of sales of Antipoverty's learning materials was to be celebrated. A conclusion from this is that what Thomas had carried over from Oxfam was working well: the production of pupil friendly, visual resources for learning about Third World issues and realities. What was not working so well was the innovative educational concept of study leading to forms of direct action, because the links painstakingly constructed by Thomas and his workers were in effect very hard to sustain.

By early 1974, the tone of reporting becomes more realistic and even negative. In March, Thomas commented on Raikes' difficulties in Manchester which was providing evidence that 'teachers on the whole are not particularly keen, and in any case find it rather difficult to teach about development issues in any kind of sustained and meaningful way'.²³ This led to the production of a forward-looking paper on 'Antipoverty after 1975', written around the same time of early 1974. Better links with local development issues were expressly spelled out:

As far as the future is concerned, I think I agree with the people at the meeting who said they would like to see AP develop more explicitly its relationships with local and national development issues as well as with overseas; and that in doing so we may find ourselves working much more closely with groups like the CRC, or Shelter, or CPAG. We have already worked fairly closely with

Shelter, and this should serve as an encouragement to us to carry out more of the same kind of collaboration.²⁴

This realisation of the need to look for new issues and new partners led to proposals to extend to race relations or the environment as new areas for projects, while recognising that the aims of support organisations for these within the UK 'have appeared to be at variance with those of the overseas development enthusiasts' as:

... the Race Relations people complain that those who stress the wretchedness and poverty of life in India and Jamaica are doing nothing for race relations in the U.K.; and the environmentalists are concerned about the implications of raising levels of resource consumption. If Antipoverty can show ways in which these apparent conflicts can be resolved, so that we can get a greater element of common cause between the overseas development groups and the other two, this will certainly be a valuable contribution for us to make.²⁵

This forward visioning paper ended with an appeal to readers to try to make sense of it, as on thorough reading 'some kind of crazy pattern may emerge'. The sense is one of an attempted educational vision straining against the daily realities of earning an income. This has been a consistent reality for innovative projects and organisations in the NGO development education sector, not just during the short effective life of Antipoverty but through to the present day.

Demise of Antipoverty

By July 1974, the Director was obliged to write a letter to staff recommending that they start to look for other jobs. This was written in full acknowledgement that 'if we are to keep going, we shall be spending so much time fund-raising

that we shall have hardly any time for our real work at all'.²⁶ In July, Thomas reported some financial improvement, thanks largely to a rescue grant from Oxfam.²⁷ The next priority for survival was to use contacts with MPs and those with political influence to try and get both the DES and the ODM to 'come to some agreement about funding us, instead of continually passing us from one ministry to another'.²⁸ The whole fundraising cycle that was impeding the progress of project work was now being described as 'a vicious circle'. The Progress Report for August 1974 further developed the line of thinking about better support from government, but with no more positive news:

I proposed to Mr Price [Judith Hart's PPS at the ODM] that HMG's interest in furthering development education could only be adequately secured by joint action on the part of the Department of Education and Science and the ODM. He didn't seem to think that this was very important, but I'm continuing to try to arrange a joint meeting, in which the DES have already said they are willing to join.²⁹

Towards the end of 1974, the Director of Antipoverty and its trustees realised that under the financial circumstances and with lack of secure support from either or both of the key government ministries, the organisation could not continue to employ paid staff. This did not mean that Antipoverty was wound up but it did result in the existing staff finding other posts, which in Thomas' own case meant a return to Oxfam employment. Thomas continued in a role as 'A Director' of Antipoverty, distributing occasional reports and keeping the organisation in existence as a trust fund. A review of this position he circulated in 1982 referred to the 'Transfer of operations to Oxfam's Education Dept.'. Himself, his secretary Margaret Birch and two current 'experimental Development Education projects' for primary schools and the youth service had all been taken to and carried to fruition by Oxfam.³⁰ This prompted Thomas to reflect that 'while the scope of Antipoverty's activity has changed and

considerably decreased since 1974' this could now be seen as part of a movement to persuade all political parties and the government of the day to make an increased commitment to 'one of the most important operations of the present decade' in providing substantial funds for development education in the United Kingdom.³¹

The recognition that the job Thomas had undertaken in setting up Antipoverty was difficult may well have been an understatement at the time. Some of the school-based projects for Antipoverty may have achieved a limited local success in their own terms. But although the aims can be seen now to have been visionary and innovative, the output and dissemination were weak. Reports on these projects have not had a noticeably lasting impact on the education profession. Thomas' departure from Antipoverty to rejoin Oxfam in 1974 could be seen as a retreat from this kind of innovation or alternatively as the end of a successful pilot project for what he was able to achieve with more lasting effect inside the much larger NGO. A summary of this can be traced in the article Thomas wrote at this time about identifying the needs of teachers and children in the UK as well as the needs of developing countries. He claimed that inside the NGO sector 'you get plenty of support for pushing messages out; but as soon as you start talking about considering the children on the receiving end, people look a bit vacant'. He added:

They'll say 'It's not our job to help a teacher in Manchester to teach his lessons better'. But I feel that, if you *don't* help that teacher to teach his lessons better your programmes will not be accepted in schools in general.³²

This shows the range of learning tasks which Thomas saw as important at the time of rejoining Oxfam, both to educate the NGO sector about the education sector and vice versa. In other words, he saw the Antipoverty function as to help to bring realities of the developing world to teachers and pupils in UK schools –

and to help them to help the development of the developing countries, while at the same time bringing realities of teaching and learning processes to the media and image makers inside the development NGOs. What is of most interest here is to enquire what were the ideas and practices that had had most impact on Thomas himself in creating this new direction for 'development education'.

Og Thomas' educational background and vision

Og Thomas was described in his Oxfam obituary as living 'an international life'. His early experiences of the world no doubt contributed to his international outlook in general and his strong belief in the value of learning through direct contact with people in distant places and in trying to support their own development. A public school education at Christ's Hospital and a Modern Languages degree at Cambridge University from 1956 to 1959 may have been part of this formation; National Service in Malaya and teaching experience in Laos and Tanzania before joining Oxfam in 1966 undoubtedly were.

Between school and university, Thomas worked as a nursing attendant in Bukit Fraser on the Malayan peninsula for the RAF National Service. He described this period of his life as being in 'daily contact with local people' partly through 'running classes for children in e.g. first aid'.³³ His widow Sally has recalled how the time in Malaya had a large influence on her future husband.³⁴ Those young men who did national service during the 1950s can be seen to have had a similar experience in international awareness as the cadet and graduate Overseas Volunteers from the 1960s onwards. Many men and women who had this kind of experience went on to work for development NGOs, particularly in their education departments.³⁵ Many others gave talks in schools, as Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO) and Returned Volunteer Action (RVA) developed their capacities to support returning volunteers. At its most limited, such visits could be encapsulated as 'a returned VSO showed slides of Ghana, and brought a lot of clothes and a spear'.³⁶ Much more detailed learning has taken place, inspired

by returning volunteers and largely unrecorded beyond the confines of the particular school and the particular time. Perhaps Thomas' subsequent career signifies an attempt to do more for teachers and pupils through a more coherently educational process.

After graduating from Cambridge, Thomas took a Postgraduate Certificate in Education at the University of London Institute of Education. His special subject was English as a Foreign Language and this no doubt influenced his decision to take a teaching post in Laos where he lived with his wife Sally and first child Katey from 1960 to 1962. The post was as an English as a Foreign Language Lecturer for the British Council, working at the National Education Centre in Vientiane. In addition to training English Language teachers there, he supervised teaching practice in village schools and organised English Language evening classes in Vientiane. These two years returning to South East Asia added to his direct experience of education and development and ways of supporting local people. After this experience, Thomas returned to England with his family and taught English, French and History for a year at Eltham Green School in South East London.

In 1963 Thomas took a post as Lecturer in Kivukoni College in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. This was an adult education college established by the ruling TANU party and modelled on Ruskin College in Oxford. Thomas described its main purpose as 'to contribute to the theory and practice of development in Tanzania'.³⁷ During his three years in Tanzania, Thomas devised and ran remedial English Language courses and courses in Communication Skills. He also assisted in seminars and short courses in primary health care and public administration and contributed to distance learning via Radio Tanzania. From this post, Thomas, Sally and now three daughters moved back to England on his appointment in 1966 as Education Officer at Oxfam, based in Oxford.

Given the kind of direct contact projects which Thomas subsequently tried to create for Antipoverty, it seems a reasonable assumption that his own earlier direct experience of the world and of education had a strong influence. Had he moved directly from the PGCE course or the London teaching experience to work in NGO education, he would have been less likely to see the potential for making school pupils in England feel that they could be directly involved in the lives and development choices of Korean farmers or Kenyan urban settlers. Chapter Five has outlined how his first period at Oxfam from 1966 to 1970 enabled him to explore ways of developing this kind of educational practice, but also the frustrations and limitations he experienced working for a large fundraising aid agency. His own description of this phase in a later Curriculum Vitae is significant:

Responsible for all education and youth work programmes in the UK. The work involved policy, budgeting, and management of the department. It also involved a thorough knowledge of all the range of development work with which Oxfam was associated overseas, in order to draw on this for educational purposes in the UK. During this period of work with Oxfam I established a network of local education staff; began a series of in-service training seminars for teachers; and supervised and often took a hand in the production, publication, and marketing of a range of educational materials.³⁸

This position gave Thomas the opportunity to learn from a wider range of development experience than his own direct teaching positions in South East Asia and East Africa and certainly provided him with insights and contacts he used to create the Antipoverty study/action projects during the early 1970s. However, as an educator coming to departmental and staff management, the Oxfam post would have been a challenge of a different kind which could well explain his decision to leave and set up his own smaller scale educational charity.

What is evident from this life story is a growing understanding of development in a number of regional contexts and a process of development which is more people and community centred than nationally and politically orientated. Thomas' reference to TANU in Tanzania is striking here as there is no other direct evidence that the political and educational theories of Julius Nyerere, the party leader and President, had an impact on his own thinking. Nyerere's Arusha Declaration with its commitment to an African path to socialism and education more geared to that than following colonial inheritances was published after Thomas had left the country. Neither is there great evidence that parallel processes of poverty and poverty alleviation within the UK was an important issue for Thomas during the Antipoverty phase, in spite of the concept of children fundraising for Manchester in place of Kenya or India. Given the nature of his international career and time spent out of the UK, apart from the year teaching in Eltham, this is hardly surprising. Yet, at key points in the emerging history of development education this became important. It was a dimension of the first Third World Centre in Norwich and in the suggestions made at the ending of VCOAD (for both, see Chapter Seven). Not everything about an educational practice can be surmised from a biography. It is necessary to explore the influences of other people, organisations and ideas.

Organisations of the United Nations can be seen to have had a direct impact on Thomas' educational thinking, at least in that he drew on them in such articles as he did write and publish. This is particularly true of the FAO and also of UNESCO. The key direct influence in Thomas' transition from Oxfam's Education Department to setting up Antipoverty was the FAO / UNESCO conference on 'The School Open to the Third World' held at Bergendal, near Stockholm in Sweden in November 1970.

Thomas regarded his role in this conference as a 'major consultancy' in his career, for 'planning and leading the first international conference on

Development Education'.³⁹ The conference was written up for UK teachers in the World Studies Bulletin in late 1971, under the title 'Education for Development' which also contained the first of Thomas' articles on Antipoverty.⁴⁰ The report highlighted 'some ideas for an educational model' which one group at the conference had struggled with. They discussed causes and consequences of underdevelopment, and agreed that 'an attitude of social awareness and responsibility' must begin early and that 'school has an important role in encouraging this attitude'. In sharing ideas about the learning processes necessary to help bring this about, the group agreed on the importance of challenging predispositions of prejudice, confusion of information and seeing the teacher as always right. There was scope in primary classrooms for exploring 'differences and similarities' and using simulations and role-plays to show that rules can be unfair and can be changed. Also, materials from other countries can be brought in to show how people live and what they value. At secondary level, it was recommended to 'get away from sweeping generalizations' and to 'emphasize the very great effort coming from the Third World itself' using material like the Arusha Declaration. There was a possibility to 'take advantage of first-hand experiences' from returned volunteers and 'people from the Third World within your country'. Fundraising should be resisted 'unless it flows from the involvement of pupils in the issues – and unless it makes direct sense to what the pupils are studying and the priorities they see as important'.

These perspectives on learning about the developing world and processes of development were to become familiar in development education circles in subsequent years. The Bergendal conference which Thomas led seems to be the first event at which they were recognised and recorded. This is also acknowledged in the Wrights' 1974 report for UNESCO on *The Changing World in the Classroom* which also draws directly on what was decided about development education at Bergendal:

Essentially, development education depends on making information accessible to young people, encouraging them to form moral and critical judgements, and enabling them to participate in such changes as they believe appropriate, in ways appropriate to their own skills and interests, it involves their own development as individuals as well as that of society as a whole.⁴¹

There was a follow-up conference to the Bergendal event, for teachers in the UK. This was organised by VCOAD and held in London in April 1971. This extended exploration of learning possibilities in primary schools, emphasising the importance of developing an understanding of other people's cultures from an early age. Secondary schools could do work on themes like 'poverty' or 'power and authority' moving from the more familiar 'outward to the wider world'. They could also do area projects such as 'Africa or India' aiming for a balancing of economic, social and cultural aspects.⁴² Thomas participated in this conference and in the informing process for the Wrights' report, which could be said to have positioned development education as an identifiable educational movement in the UK, even though the report itself concludes with the belief that the term is not in common use in the country and is probably not ideal and this may be the last use of it (see Chapter Seven).⁴³

Educational influences on Antipoverty

To summarise the influence of UNESCO and other UN organisations on Thomas and the Antipoverty programmes during the early 1970s, it is important to recognise other trails, including the growing debate about learning psychology and methodology, influenced by educational writers like Jerome Bruner. This is most evident in the existence of UNESCO's teachers' centre in Germany and the influence of David Wolsk's 'experience centred curriculum' project and conferences in 1972 and 1973. Although Thomas himself did not participate in these, educators connected with the Institute of Education and CEWC did.⁴⁴

Wolsk stressed the importance of psychological understanding to move classroom learning closer to where young people were coming from, through innovative discussion and role-play techniques. The use of role-play and simulation in development education type activities can be traced much further back, at least to the pioneering Oxfam Hunger Game and Aid Committee Games of the late 1960s (see Chapter Five). There can also be seen to have been many wider influences on this, particularly from the United States where games like Starpower and BafaBafa originated and became very much in vogue in development education circles from the late 1970s onwards. However, Robin Richardson has directly acknowledged the influence of Wolsk's ideas on his own practice and there was clearly an interchange of ideas between Richardson and Thomas and other Oxfam Education staff from the start of the World Studies project in 1973.⁴⁵ What has been written up from the projects shows an interest in producing visual materials like wall charts, rather than an emphasis on developing interactive classroom approaches. However, as the interchange of ideas between practitioners like Richardson and Thomas is hard to recover after a period of nearly forty years, it can be reasonably assumed that the learning methodologies that came to be identified with development education through the World Studies Project were at least familiar to Thomas in developing his own practice.

The early 1970s in the UK was a time of innovative educational publishing, disseminating new thinking about teaching and learning. Officially there was the Government's White Paper on *Education: A Framework for Expansion* and the James Report on teacher training, both in 1972. The Schools Council published a wide range of Working Papers, including *Social Studies 8-13* in 1971 and *The Whole Curriculum* in 1975 reporting on the Working Party from 1971-74. There was also a booklet summarising the first ten years of the Council's activities.⁴⁶ The Politics Association also launched a new journal called *Teaching Politics* in 1971. As already stated, there is no direct evidence from Thomas' published writings of references to wider educational reading but these helped to form the

changing educational climate of the first years of the decade and the thinking and practice of teachers and teachers in training.⁴⁷ There is however indirect evidence within the field that newly published works from around the world were having an influence. Richardson used a quotation from Fanon in his first published work for the World Studies Project in 1973, and VCOAD listed books by Illich and Freire, among others, in a bibliography for students published in the same year.⁴⁸

The role of Penguin Education Specials can be seen as important here. In 1971 Penguin published books for teachers with challenging titles which included *Teaching as a Subversive Activity* by Postman and Weingartner, *School is Dead* by Reimer and *Compulsory Miseducation* by Goodman.⁴⁹ Illich's *Deschooling Society* was also available in the UK that year, as was Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Given how important the ideas of Freire on politicised learning and 'conscientisation' became for development education in later years, it is possible to speculate what influence his writings might have had on Thomas and the development of Antipoverty's understanding of the role of education for development in the UK. Freire was celebrated as an authentic educational voice from the Third World, as a Brazilian who had developed popular literacy classes in his own country. It is evident from the Bergendal conference which Thomas facilitated in 1970 that participants were looking to ideas from the Third World, so such cross-fertilisation of ideas from both North and South America – and elsewhere – is conceivable. Postman and Weingartner, for example, described the 'new education' as:

...new because it consists of having students use the concepts most appropriate to the world in which we must all live. All of these concepts constitute the dynamics of the question-questioning, meaning-making process that can be called 'learning how to learn'. This comprises a posture of stability from which to deal fruitfully with change.⁵⁰

This emphasis on change in a world context can be seen in later development education theory, even if not overtly expressed in Thomas' own published writings while directing Antipoverty. What is evident is a serious attempt to write in educational language about emotive issues of poverty and injustice in the world:

... teachers who see the value of helping children to know about the Third World and about development issues must make sure that they also help them to form moral and critical judgements about these areas of study and in addition give them every possible help in becoming personally involved: otherwise live issues will be reduced to arid academics, which is an unpardonable diminution of the purpose of education. On the other hand teachers who want to point their children in the direction of social awareness and social action should ensure that these are based on the most comprehensive knowledge possible, on the most impeccable academic accuracy: it is no good basing one's social concern on half truths, or solely on emotional responses.⁵¹

In trying to bring together the affective and cognitive domains in this way, as brought out in this 1971 article in *Teachers World*, Thomas was trying to establish the professional and pedagogical credibility of his vision of 'education for development'. He was placed in Antipoverty between the aid and fundraising organisation he had chosen to leave and the new education he was trying to conceptualise and put into practice through localised study/action projects in schools in England directly connected to localities in the developing world. He saw that this had to be made acceptable to teachers as valid learning if it was to have any successful take-up within the profession. Thomas was therefore writing as a teacher for teachers, but one who had himself gained a wide experience of the developing world and of working for development. The chief

task was to derive from that a field for learning about and through development. In a 1974 article based on an interview with Thomas at the end of the Anti-Poverty phase, he is quoted as giving pupils' learning needs as the reason why he had set up the organisation:

In essence, education in Third World development is a process that involves meeting two quite distinct sets of needs: those of the Third World population itself, and those of the children who are learning about them. Unless the kids' own learning needs are met, learning just won't happen.⁵²

The same article explores the potential for learning leading to action as not a question of learning about a Third World country for the sake of it but 'because you have a chance of co-operating with the people there'. Antipoverty's youth exchange and technical education projects were presented as the best ways to achieve this, as 'schools have got it so firmly into their heads that there is no connection between study and action'. Young people from Leicestershire helping to build a school in Nigeria and using simple technology like an oil extractor designed by apprentices in Bristol illustrated the potential, outside the formal sector. The challenge Thomas faced after these experimental years with Antipoverty was to return to lead both the schools and youth side of Oxfam's expanding education programme in the United Kingdom. The unresolved problem of how to help schools to be 'open to the Third World' went with him, on the basis of trying to establish direct co-operation between people and an understanding of their real lives and common needs, as far as curriculum and school structures could allow.

Learning locally: a housing project in Manchester

Antipoverty's project on housing for lower secondary schools in Manchester had a full-time project leader, Bob Raikes, working to produce a 'basic kit of

materials' which included magazines and action posters. Implicit in the project was the idea that 'classes should be able to carry out comparative research on houses and house-building in their own neighbourhood – and action too, if need be. Just as they could raise money for Mathare or Nadiad, so they could raise money for Hulme or Moss-side'.⁵³

In an interim report from Raikes, there are many clues as to the difficulty of bringing challenging learning ideas into real school settings. Even with the Schools Council giving support to the value of Integrated Studies in secondary schools, in reality such courses were often rigid and hard to influence. At one school in Manchester, Raikes observed that 'the syllabus was so rigid' that it 'put paid to the inclusion of study of present day Manchester and the Third World'.⁵⁴ This he saw as ironic given the 'very high population of Pakistani girls, who might make a comparison of Manchester and the Third World very lively'. Other schools could not fit the project into mainstream teaching and so Raikes was referred to remedial groups as in one case 'a fifth year sanctuary group, of five or six young people who didn't fit in with anything at the school, and were basically being kept busy and happy'.⁵⁵ At another Manchester secondary school, the teacher 'couldn't for the life of him think how our project could fit in, especially as a large number of his kids could not read or write'. Significantly, in light of the assumed aim for study to lead to action, 'the kids had quite liked the wallcharts but had not been able to do much with them apart from answering Mr Tanberro's questions'.⁵⁶

The result of trying to overcome these barriers of entry was to de-motivate the project worker, although there were some successes to record from 'the schools that did something'. In one of these Mr Wheeler, the Geography teacher, had encouraged enquiry about conditions of poverty in Kenya and India, including comparisons within the United Kingdom. The learning was seen as leading to a process of further enquiry, rather than overt forms of action because although the teacher was 'very aware of the political implications of poverty, he was still

determined not to bring political issues into the classroom'.⁵⁷ In another of the 'success' schools, the Geography teacher 'has not got the kids involved in any action yet, which may explain their lack of positive interest' even though groups were engaged in learning about housing in Kenya and India. However, even in this school it could be questioned if negative ideas about people's lives in Third World settings were really being challenged, because Raikes commented in his report that 'a lot of the kids merely thought that the Third World people, and their houses, were just backward and primitive. These were the academically backward kids, so maybe they were passing on to others what had been said about them'.⁵⁸ In another school, the action amounted to pinning up pupil letters on the board and not sending them to the chairman of Brooke Bond to complain about conditions for tea pickers. This was because, even though the class were 'fairly steamed up at such blatant injustice', the teacher felt that 'the letters didn't fulfil the school specifications as to neatness, legibility, syntax, etc.'. On this occasion Raikes 'fumed somewhat and asked him [the teacher] what he thought study/action was about but I couldn't force him to do anything'.⁵⁹

Overall, the Manchester housing project had many difficulties in implementation in secondary schools, in spite of the energy of the project worker and other people like returned VSO volunteers and local community development projects he invited into the schools. Action, particularly on local issues, was seen as dangerously political in a climate where teaching children about their rights was not encouraged. One resource centre could lend materials to teachers but not to pupils. The educational climate in Manchester in the early 1970s could therefore be seen from the light of the present as restrictive towards outside initiatives and even reaffirming negative views of people's development in the Third World rather than giving active, localised ways of challenging these. In summary, Raikes presented the main obstacles to the project's progress as his sense of working on his own, combined with 'fitting a loose, wide ranging project into a tight school structure' which limited the time available and the depth of study.

Also, most teachers showed a lack of confidence in their pupils' abilities as they were not up to 'a mind stretching project'.⁶⁰

In an Antipoverty Progress Report in March 1974, Thomas summarised much of what Raikes had learned from trying to run the Manchester housing project for eleven to thirteen year olds. Firstly, that 'the project leader needs the formal support of the Local Education Authority'.⁶¹ Secondly, it was clear that the project worker had been 'over-optimistic' at the outset and then become 'rather depressed' as schools failed to show enough enthusiasm and fell by the wayside. Thomas confessed to being 'caught on the hop' by this apparent failure of engagement, because it compared unfavourably with successes in Bristol and Leicestershire where the project leaders were well known. He could also have acknowledged that these were finding more success in the further and informal education sectors through working with apprentices and youth groups, whereas the Manchester project had been seeking entry to lower secondary curriculum areas.

This project highlights the growth of development education activity in the north of England and particularly the North West and Manchester area. To some extent, influences on this can be traced to London and the West Midlands, as in the seminal role to be played by the Development Education Centre in Birmingham later in the decade (see Chapter Seven). However, there were also strong local roots as in local UNA support which led to the setting up of a Development Education Liaison group in Manchester in 1977, which led through financial support from the ODM's Development Education Fund to employing a worker to run a 'Britain and the Third World' project. This found a resource base at Didsbury College of Education in 1978 and so a significant, non-Oxfam supported Development Education Centre was created to serve teachers in the North West under the name of Manchester Development Education Project – as it still is today and still at the Didsbury site of what is now Manchester Metropolitan University.⁶²

It is hardly surprising that Manchester developed its own, independent version of development education, appropriate to how people in the north west of England saw their relation to the world. Manchester has viewed itself in the past as the second city of England after London, with a long tradition of dissent and difference, perhaps best encapsulated in the independence of the *Manchester Guardian* as a critical voice in British society. As for the hinterland, Lancashire and Cumbria, perhaps not unlike Norwich (see Chapter Seven for the origins of the Third World Centre there) developed initiatives for global learning and peace education through teacher training colleges, particularly during the 1980s. It was only in the mid -1980s that Oxfam set up a first Education Adviser post in the North East, based in Newcastle, following strategic planning to provide such services for teachers first in urban heartlands like London, Birmingham and Leeds. An assessment of this regional pattern across England shows development education practice spanning out from the major conurbations towards more rural, isolated areas with less direct contact with the developing world and its people, even through patterns of migration into England from those countries. In other words, development education spread from its source areas in the south and slowly penetrated into the north of the country. There are other traceable patterns for Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland which are beyond the scope of this thesis.

Conclusions on the Antipoverty approach to learning

The years that recognised the changing world in the classroom, from 1971 to 1974, were years in which Antipoverty experimented with the possibilities and limitations of introducing 'education for development' into the UK school system. Og Thomas left Oxfam's Education Department and sought funds from LEAs and other sources for educational projects that prioritised learning directly from and about people's development in the developing countries. Although fundraising could be one form of action resulting from these 'study/action

projects', Antipoverty as an educational NGO was not driven by the restraints of fundraising for aid and emergency relief projects. Antipoverty's limited success in entering the formal sector was offset by more successful direct learning initiatives with young people out of school and with technical apprentices. Thomas therefore brought back to Oxfam a growing awareness of what was educationally necessary in order to achieve a breakthrough into schools and the limitations of subject-based learning. This was to flourish during his second period at Oxfam from 1974 to 1981, through the growth of a movement that came progressively to be identified as 'development education' and which worked through localised projects and resource centres modelled on the Antipoverty study/action concept and the original Third World Centre in East Anglia.

Additional perspectives from the beginning and end of Antipoverty's operation phase help to illuminate the dilemmas and difficulties faced by England's 'first development organisation' during the early 1970s.

The first was the position of Oxfam's Director in relation to the emergence of Antipoverty. In a letter sent to Frederick Lees, the General Secretary of VCOAD, Kirkley offered his own views on Antipoverty's request to join the VCOAD network. The application was seen as premature because Antipoverty was not yet fully established, but observer status should be agreed in order 'to provide the greatest measure of co-ordination between the different bodies in the education field'.⁶³ The problem for Kirkley was that, despite his own high regard for Thomas, the new organisation could appear to 'duplicate what the VCOAD agencies severally and collectively are already doing'. This position did recognise that Thomas could have a reasonable assumption that he could do this kind of education role better and there was a possible 'advantage of independence from the agencies and thus from the pressures, real and imaginary, to which they are subjected'.⁶⁴ The real issue was one of funding, because in Kirkley's view if the ODM could be persuaded to put more

government money into this area of educational work then some benefits should accrue to VCOAD's member agencies rather than to one new organisation in the field. The letter ended by re-iterating a belief in the need for 'continuous talk' between Walker at VCOAD and Thomas at Antipoverty in order to help with 'some clear delineation of our several parameters... as the most practical means of effective co-ordination'.⁶⁵ This makes clear where Oxfam's official position was in regard to the appearance of Antipoverty: that it should earn its place in the field through good collaboration within that existing field and not try too hard to be independently effective in its own right.

A second reflection on the impact of Antipoverty was an article published by Barbara Clark in 1978.⁶⁶ Clark had worked as an Antipoverty project worker in London on the To Kok Li Korean rural development project (see above). The article describes her feelings on returning to primary classroom teaching after being 'a campaigner for a better life for the world's poor, the capable and concerned organiser of events and meetings'.⁶⁷ She had quickly become paralysed by the everyday realities of being responsible for the education of real children. However, by the time of writing the article, she was at last feeling able to take on 'a bit of development studies' with her pupils and beginning to use the Oxfam Korea wallet which had resulted from the original Antipoverty project:

Development, however, just never seemed to get off the ground, and I began to get a sensation of slowly drowning in a mire of playtimes, dinner duties, lost pencils and the Christmas Concert.⁶⁸

Clark had to acknowledge that the return to teaching had meant her own horizons being 'narrowed right down to the four walls of my school'. Her proposed answer to this situation was to see the need for teachers to be revitalised to increase their levels of enthusiasm and to maintain high professional standards. After her primary teaching phase, Clark took up a post in an ILEA resources centre helping to produce materials on development studies

for the 14-16 age-range.⁶⁹ What her article highlights are both the potential highs and lows of a learning approach like that advocated by Antipoverty. Thomas' project brought excitement and expectation of how a study/action approach to learning from and with real Third World localities could bring meaningful learning into school curriculum settings in England. However, this level of excitement was often more apparent to Antipoverty's project workers than to many of the teachers who became involved in supporting the projects. Consequently, Clark's article also helps to reveal the downside of the Antipoverty approach to development education: that it was largely conceived and sustained from outside real classroom situations. Its roots were more in the charitable than the schools sector, as Thomas himself was to re-learn when he left Antipoverty to take on the management and direction of Oxfam's Education Department during the crucial years for the emergence of development education in England during the mid to late 1970s.

References to Chapter Six

¹ Whitaker, B. (1968). See also Field, F. (1982) on The Child Poverty Action group during the 1970s; and Silver, H. and Silver, P. (1991) on the effect of Education Priority Areas on the 'educational war on poverty' in England and in comparison with the USA.

² Silver, H. (1983), page 258.

³ Freeman, K. (1965), page 129. No significant history of SCF has been published since, although there was a range of historical materials produced during the seventy-fifth celebrations in 1994.

⁴ This is a personal observation based on the study of United Kingdom poverty issues in Social Studies courses during the 1980s, in part promoted by the research findings of Peter Townsend and his willingness to speak at school events.

⁵ Thomas, O. (1970), page 21.

⁶ Ibid., pages 22-23.

⁷ Owen Godfrey Thomas, Curriculum Vitae, 1987. This and all Antipoverty reports referenced here are in Barbara Bond's papers.

⁸ Including 'Antipoverty – Education for development: An explanatory paper' and 'Antipoverty – Education for development: A description, with costings' (both September 1971).

⁹ From my interview with Sally Thomas, 7 June 2006.

¹⁰ In 'Educating Young Britons about the Third World: O G Thomas, Director of Antipoverty', *Third World*, September/October 1974, page 10.

¹¹ E-mail correspondence with Paul Sherlock, January 2008. Discussion with Barbara Bond in February 2008 and her 'The Time of My Life 1972-5' memory paper for the University of the Third Age of April 2004.

¹² Also 'British schools and the third world' in *Teachers World* of 10 September 1971.

¹³ *World Studies Bulletin* 20. September/October 1971, pages 613-614.

¹⁴ *World Studies Bulletin* 25. December 1972, pages 11-12.

¹⁵ *World Studies Bulletin* 28, September/October 1973, page 7.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., page 8.

¹⁹ Antipoverty Progress Report no. 27, to 31.v.73, page 1.

²⁰ Antipoverty Progress Report No. 35, to 28.iii.74, page 4.

²¹ Ibid., page 3.

²² Antipoverty National Organiser's Report, July 1973, page 1.

²³ Antipoverty Progress Report No. 35, to 28.iii.74, page 2.

²⁴ Antipoverty after 1975, page 2.

²⁵ Ibid., page 3.

²⁶ O. Thomas letter to B. Bond, 4 July 1974.

²⁷ Notes for Directors' Meeting, 3.vii.74, page 1.

²⁸ Ibid., page 2.

²⁹ Antipoverty Progress Report no. 39, for August 1974, page 2.

³⁰ Antipoverty 'A brief report for the years 1974 to 1982', August 1982, page 1.

³¹ Ibid., page 2.

³² 'Educating Young Britons about the Third World' in *Third World* of September/October 1974, page 10.

³³ Owen Godfrey Thomas, Curriculum Vitae, 1987, from which most of the career information up to 1966 here is taken.

³⁴ From my interview with Sally Thomas, 7 June 2006.

³⁵ This is generally agreed, although there is no evident research into how many development educators had VSO experience. My own periods as a young IVS teacher in Cameroon during the 1970s were a key influence on my subsequent career.

³⁶ 'Project A106: Interim Report', February 1974, page 3.

³⁷ Owen Godfrey Thomas, Curriculum Vitae, 1987.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ *World Studies Bulletin* 20. September/October 1971, pages 611-613.

⁴¹ Wright, D. and Wright, J. (1974), page 4.

⁴² *World Studies Bulletin* 20. September/October 1971, page 613.

⁴³ Wright, D. and Wright, J. (1974), page 44.

⁴⁴ Including John Colclough, Richard Pring and John Waddleton, as named in the published report, Wolsk, D. (1975), page 52. Both Colclough and Waddleton have informed me about the importance of Wolsk's project in their own practice, and Wolsk often stayed with Waddleton when he was in London (e-mail correspondence, January 2008).

⁴⁵ From my interview with Robin Richardson in 2004 and subsequent e-mail correspondence.

⁴⁶ Schools Council Working Papers 39 and 53; *Schools Council: The first ten years 1964-1974*. See also Plaskow, M. (ed.) (1985).

⁴⁷ Including myself, reading Illich and Freire and other 'radical educators' during my Postgraduate Certificate in Education training in Birmingham from 1972 to 1973.

⁴⁸ Richardson, R. (1973): the concept of 'explaining the other to myself' was taken from Frantz Fanon, whose anti-colonial writings on *The Wretched of the Earth* and *Black Skin, White Masks* were published in English language versions during the 1960s; VCOAD (1973), page 104.

⁴⁹ These books were all reviewed by David Harris in the *Journal of Curriculum Studies* (4, 972, pages 184-5), analysing how they all drew inspiration from Illich's *Deschooling Society* in looking for a 'change of consciousness about institutions' although the reviewer was not convinced that this would follow from the alternatives proposed in the books.

⁵⁰ Postman, N. and Weingartner, C. (1971), page 204.

⁵¹ In 'British schools and the third world', *Teachers World*, 10 September 1971.

⁵² In 'Educating Young Britons about the Third World: O G Thomas, Director of Antipoverty', *Third World*, September/October 1974, page 10.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, page 6.

⁵⁴ 'Project A106: Interim Report', February 1974.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ Antipoverty Progress Report no. 35, to 28.iii.74, page 1.

⁶² McCollum, A. (1996), page 68.

⁶³ Oxfam Directors' Files: letter from L Kirkley to F Lees, 13 April 1971.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Barbara Clark on 'What Happened to the Me of Yesteryear? – notes from a primary school classroom', *New Era* 59/4 (1978), pages 146-149.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, page 146.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, page 147.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, page 149.

Chapter Seven

The vicious circle of neglect: 1971-1977

This chapter traces the growth of DES-supported movements for world-minded education and ODM-supported movements for development education through the second United Nations Development Decade on the 1970s, up to the key decision year of 1978 which is covered more fully in the subsequent chapter. The chapter has been titled after the influential 'Circle of Neglect' diagram created to show opportunities for development education in 1974. It is intended to suggest other ways that the movement for development education might have grown during the decade, if there had not been a large amount of apparent neglect on the part of government and in particular the DES.

By the mid 1970s and what could be described as a loss of confidence in the effectiveness of VCOAD from the NGO side, ODM was reluctant to put more money into a liaison body without gaining more control over it. The result of this was the ending of NGO management and the establishment of CWDE as an independent and even competitive provider of development education ideas and resources to teachers. Also, through a growing perception of how neighbouring governments for example in the Netherlands were giving priority and funding to Development Education, the ODM decided to increase its funding for NGO initiatives and set up the ACDE for this purpose. Had Labour rather than the Conservatives won the 1979 election this funding was set to increase year by year. From the 1980s onwards, proponents of development education in England had to search for other means of financial support than the Government. Oxfam itself became a disburser of grants to smaller projects, thereby taking on the role it had sought from Government.¹

Government and the NGO sector in the 1970s

In 1974 CEWC and DES representatives attended a UNESCO conference in Paris which agreed *Recommendations on Education for International Understanding*. This expanded the world-minded dimension of learning in England to the extent that the DES subsequently issued Circular 9/76 to all schools for implementation of the Recommendations. Also in 1974 VCOAD published a report called *The Changing World in the Classroom*. This was the UK's contribution to a Europe-wide survey of development education initiated by UNESCO, and can be seen as the first educational report to recognise the existence of development education in England. Therefore, during the course of the 1970s, the two strands for wider world learning and more narrowly focused learning based on developing countries progressively overlapped in many ways, thereby changing the nature of development education. A key new bridging organisation in this process was the World Studies Project. Oxfam's Education Department made its own bridgeheads into these networks, while at the same time continuing to develop a specific educational programme. A major innovation from within the programme was the creation of local DEC's as support and resource bases for teachers. These allied with similar initiatives beyond Oxfam to found a grass-roots, community-led approach to providing development education support and services to teachers.

Up to the early 1970s, the DES had continued to give lightweight support to world-minded education, particularly after the UNESCO branch of the Ministry was transferred to the ODM in 1965. Only when the UNESCO branch of the ODM handed back responsibility for Education for International Understanding (EIU) to the DES in 1974 can a stronger involvement be traced. This was over the invitation for the British Government to participate in the UNESCO conference in Paris. The ODA (as the Ministry was now called) considered that they 'had no experience in the matter'.² They had been informed by the Foreign Office that the Draft Recommendations document:

Illustrates a somewhat distorted view of the aim of education – if adopted, is certain to be used for purposes of political propaganda. It is not a text to which we would want to subscribe, nor to implement.³

The DES recognised that a decentralised system of education meant that it was difficult to formulate national policy but they did agree to send an Inspector to the Paris Conference, and sought the expertise in CEWC to assist him by inviting their Secretary, Terence Lawson, to go as well. This was mainly because any agreed recommendations would have to be implemented by the DES rather than the ODA. J. H. Mundy wrote that 'certainly the responsibility on seeing how far the eventual recommendations can be conveyed to and filtered into the UK educational system will fall upon the DES'.⁴ After the event, the Inspectors E. McKay and M. W. White circulated a memo laying out their view of the position that the DES should now take on EIU. This proposed that 'a gradual programmatic development, based on firm experience but less insular than in the past, may well be the best road to take'. These Inspectors could see the potential to develop learning in this area, with the active involvement of NGOs already providing a groundswell of support:

To end on a happy note, I think it can be claimed on a cosmic timescale we have not done too badly already – in the UK we have ODM, Oxfam, SCF etc. Internationally we have UNA, UNESCO etc. Moreover I am convinced that young people today are more aware - and some of them more concerned too – about poverty, over-population, nuclear war etc.... No, the wind is whispering through the whole system; devoutly led it could blow us all a great deal of good.⁵

This may be a conscious reference to Harold Macmillan's 1960 speech in South Africa about the 'wind of change' blowing towards the independence of African

colonies. A. D. Gallop replied to this memo that 'Central government has no control over curriculum matters, so there is little opportunity for action other than to publicise the recommendations'.⁶ The conclusion could be that apart from some enthusiastic members of the Ministry team, there was only light support for strengthening EIU in schools. This official position meant that the initiative for this was left to the ODA/ODM and so a different format for development education was given financial support which allowed NGO enthusiasm to access schools in a more indirect manner than if it had been directly the creation of the DES. Their position is well summarised by E. S. Sidebottom's internal memo at the time of sending a Circular to schools in 1976 during the time of the Great Debate on the purpose of state education which gave weak support to the UNESCO *Recommendations*:

The concept is important but its application within the curriculum is difficult to define with precision. EIU occupies no exact place in the curriculum and is not a subject in its own right but it is relevant over a wide area of subject matter and educational activity. It is for schools and colleges to consider what and how to include it.⁷

It is possible to speculate that different personalities as Ministers of Education could have influenced this general position of caution about EIU. Edward Short, for example, had been a head teacher before becoming Minister and he wrote a book after leaving the office about education policy 'in a changing world':

Self-interest as well as common humanity demands that education everywhere should wage an unrelenting war on the ancient prejudices of colour and race. And British education has at the moment an opportunity to make a significant contribution to this major, worldwide need.⁸

In the other key Government Ministry, the ODM, there was a growing awareness of the importance of giving support to development education. Reginald Prentice was Minister of Overseas Development for a brief second period in 1975 to 1976, after he had been moved from Minister of Education. At the time of the handover to Frank Judd at the ODM, in the middle of the debates about the demise of VCOAD and the nature of a successor body, Prentice reflected on this unique dual role:

Mr Prentice said that, in his view, the need to educate the public about overseas development was crucial. There was in many quarters little understanding of the objectives of our overseas aid programme. As Secretary of State for Education he had with some success pressed educationalists to treat development studies as an important part of the educational scene.⁹

However, there appears to be little evidence elsewhere that Prentice had made such an impact. During the brief time in 1976-1977 when he was Overseas Development Minister, Frank Judd initiated a Development Education Fund to provide small grants to local development education initiatives within the United Kingdom.¹⁰ In order to seek advice on allocating this Fund, the Minister set in motion an Advisory Committee on Development Education (ACDE). People with a reputation in the field in the widest sense were invited, both from NGOs and colleges and universities, to sit on the Committee in an individual capacity and not representing their own organisations.¹¹ Committee members or relevance here included Professor Charles Elliott from the School of Development Studies at the University of East Anglia, Dame Margaret Miles who was a Vice-Chair of CEWC at this time, Mildred Nevile from CIIR and Og Thomas from Oxfam's Education Department. ODM representation on the Committee included Peter Broderick as Head of Information and the Parliamentary Under-Secretary, with the MP John Tomlinson in the chair. There was a representative from the Central Office of Information, and later from the DES.¹²

The declared aim of the ACDE was to advise the Minister on 'the distribution and expenditure of such funds as he is able from time to time to make available for development education and information work in the United Kingdom'.¹³ Development education was seen as primarily a matter of awareness raising within the UK in relation to the needs of developing countries, defined as the objective of the Development Education Fund 'to increase public understanding in the United Kingdom by both formal and informal means on all issues affecting the economic and social development of developing countries; and of their consequences for the United Kingdom'.¹⁴ A grant of £60,000 per annum had already been committed by the Minister in Parliament in December 1976 for CWDE 'for at least two years'. The other major initiative already taken by the ODM was to fund a survey of public attitudes and levels of awareness of the developing world, through the Central Office of Information. This became the Schlackman Report (see below). Beyond these fixed points, the main function of the ACDE from its first quarterly meeting in January 1977 was to agree or disagree grant applications which had been submitted to the committee from 'non profit-making bodies with a proven interest and competence in the field of development education'.¹⁵

At the first meeting of the ACDE, the Chair introduced a letter which had been sent to the Minister by Sheila Oakes from the National Peace Council. In the letter, Oakes expressed concern about the individual and un-coordinated nature of the grant-making, advocating that any money available would be better spent on one or two large impact initiatives like the production of a wide-ranging teaching resource on development.¹⁶ Tomlinson also spoke about the importance of challenging cynics and 'avoiding giving them cause for concern' about this use of public funds.¹⁷ In relation to the agenda item for the committee's future programme of work, Tomlinson referred to 'the very apparent problem of co-ordination of development education' because of the 'many people actively involved in this work, producing excellent materials but

seemingly without co-ordination between themselves or, possibly worse, between themselves and the users'.¹⁸

The meeting approved many grants and rejected some, meaning that not all available money was committed. In internal correspondence after this, Judd as Minister enquired why some, particularly trade union focused activities, had been rejected. ODM officials followed a line that overtly politicised activities were not acceptable for ODM funding, which was why an application from Christian Concern for South Africa had been rejected by the ACDE. In effect, when Judith Hart replaced Frank Judd as Minister early in 1977, she gave a strong priority to trade union applications and at least one of these was eventually accepted for funding by the committee. Hart's view at this time was that the campaigning WDM was 'one of the two most effective organisations in this field (the other being Oxfam)'.¹⁹ The ODM's Information Department tended to take a more cautious line than the new Minister on defining the nature of political development education activity. An article by John Madeley in the FAO's *Ideas into Action* newsletter on November/December 1977 had compared the UK unfavourably with the Netherlands. Peter Broderick recorded in an ODM internal memo in response to this that the 'Information Department has always taken a strong line... that – while totally accepting that development education is ipso facto political and the debate is to be encouraged' it would not be productive to make awareness of this too overt.²⁰ Broderick wrote about this to the British Embassy in Rome, saying 'I am sure you will agree that a spirited defence now might be counter-productive back here. Our battle is by no means won'.²¹ This would be in reference to the ODM's battle within government to justify expenditure on programmes inside the United Kingdom.

In March 1977, Og Thomas wrote from Oxfam to Broderick at the ODM to express his concerns about where the ACDE was going. He argued for a more 'cohesive plan' rather than 'responding to a series of random applications', following the spirit of Oakes' earlier letter to the Minister. Thomas proposed that

Derek Walker from CWDE could be paid to oversee the vetting of grant applications, which would ensure a more thorough process than could be achieved by a group of people meeting on a quarterly basis for an over-long session.²²

At the second ACDE meeting in May 1977, Margaret Miles was appointed as Vice Chairman. The need to avoid the 'converted talking to the converted' was agreed, with the perception of the need 'to get at the "hostile" sections of the public'. Also education was needed about 'life in the actual world' to avoid emotional propaganda and packaged solutions.²³ In the same month, the ODM Head of Information wrote to Oxfam's Director clarifying their understanding of development education as increasing public knowledge of developing countries and the consequences of this for the United Kingdom.²⁴ Walker replied that ODM funding for development education was still 'derisory' as they should be fully aware that Oxfam was spending more than twice as much as the Government was on this.²⁵ There was evidently an on-going debate within ODM and the NGO sector about the effectiveness of the ACDE and the Development Education Fund. In a paper in July 1977, the ODM's Information Department provided a table of expenditure on development education in comparison with the United Kingdom. Scandinavian countries were spending the most at this time, with the United Kingdom among the lowest at 0.04% of national official development expenditure. This was related to the realistic position that 'an increase in resources for development education automatically involves loss of corresponding funds for the actual aid programme'.²⁶

One of the more tangible outcomes of the ACDE's work was the publication of the six volumes of the Schlackman Report as a 'Survey of Attitudes Towards Overseas Development and Development Education' between October 1977 and April 1978. The most important of these was the first volume which provided an 'overall summary' of the research findings. Tim Bowles, the researcher working for the Schlackman Research Organisation researched and produced

the report and he was subsequently commissioned by Oxfam to produce its own internal evaluation of development education. For all its size, what the Schlackman Report did illustrate and support with a weight of evidence was that the British public was generally fairly ignorant and uninterested in matters relating to the developing world and that therefore there was a necessary job to be done in schools. In a section on 'The current state of development education', the Report concluded that this presented 'a rather dismal picture' which would 'typically appear through the medium of geography lessons'.²⁷ Among explanations given for this were 'a very general apathy towards development issues within the teaching profession', that 'the nation as a whole is apathetic' and that 'the current demands on curriculum and timetable are so heavy that there is no room for a "new" subject area'.²⁸ In providing ideas on 'How development education should be taught', the Report cited views from educators who had been consulted. These ranged from 'it should not be taught at all' to 'it should be taught as an integrated study' with a variety of possible curriculum positions in between.²⁹ Probably the most important realisation in the summary volume of the Schlackman Report, even if one well known to practitioners of development education at the time, was that the field was 'in the hands of comparatively few interested individuals' and that this was preventing wider dissemination.³⁰

In summary, the ODM's Development Education Fund and Advisory Committee played an important role in the way that development education evolved in England during the later years of the 1970s decade. The committee continued a trend already in place for this field to be the main responsibility of the ODM rather than the DES. The outcome of this was that rather than more centralised guidance on the place of the field within state education, the ODM relied on the advice of practitioners from the NGO sector, with the consequence that funding for initiatives tended to be very localised and piecemeal in nature. The chair of the ACDE himself complained that as a busy MP he did not have the time to spend at long committee meetings sorting through the details of every small

grant application. The on-going debate from people in Og Thomas' position that this was not the most effective way to progress led to the final Report of the Advisory Committee in 1978 (see Chapter Eight). This advocated a large expansion of funding, together with a clearer vision of how to implement this.

The importance of this analysis in answering the question of defining the official position on development awareness is that the creation of the ODM and its changes in policy and personnel were a key factor in the hesitant growth of development education in England and the rest of the United Kingdom. Without the existence of the ODM, the voluntary organisations might have had to struggle harder to gain educational credibility. The ODM caused the existence of VCOAD's Education Committee and led to the setting up of grant funding for Development Education initiatives. But this could also be judged to be drip-feeding from an official body that had other interests than education within the country at its core, namely the direct support of aid and development projects in the developing world. Had the ODM not come into existence as a powerful Government body under, intermittently, powerful Ministers, it is possible to speculate that the DES could have been obliged to take more responsibility for this field than it did. The handing back of responsibility from the ODM's UNESCO Department to the DES over the 1974 Paris Conference does seem of particular importance for this history. Barry Cozens wrote from the ODA to D. W. Constable at the External Relations Branch of the DES that:

The ODA has no competence... (our) interest is in technical and vocational education overseas. We in the UNESCO Department admit to concern with Education for International Understanding so far as it concerns ASPRO (UNESCO's Associated Schools Project, which CEWC managed on behalf of UK-UNESCO) schools.³¹

The crux is therefore the apparently limited involvement in this area of learning by Ministries of Education, which Oxfam certainly remarked on. With more

support, teachers and LEA advisers could have been strengthened in bringing a global dimension into schooling. Between James Henderson at the University of London Institute of Education writing in the *Times Educational Supplement* in the 1960s about the need for a World Studies adviser in every local authority and the DES and the Department for International Development (the successor to the ODM) combining to advocate the 'global dimension' of learning in the 2000s, there is a very large space of time and restricted educational development. Into that space fell the efforts of NGOs, both through VCOAD and separately, to create a valid field for development awareness in the formal education sector.

The World Studies Project

The emergence of the World Studies Project under Robin Richardson should also be considered here (and see Chapter Four for the Project's origins in the PGWG). In 1970 a meeting of the PGWG, attended by James Henderson, Margaret Miles and Shirley Williams, agreed to try and establish an educational project under the title of World Studies. Funding was sought for the project from the Leverhulme Trust and a Project Director appointed to start in 1973. The initial aim of the Project was:

To encourage modification of syllabuses at secondary school level to reflect a world perspective rather than national attitudes, so that an opportunity is given in the curriculum for balancing national loyalty with a measure of conscious loyalty to the human race as a whole in all its diversity".³²

Richardson was appointed as a former General Studies teacher and researcher – and like Thomas a Languages graduate – over a competitive field of subject specialists including Geographers.³³ Richardson set about interesting Local Education Authorities in the potential for World Studies, under learning themes

addressing poverty, power, conflict and the environment. Richardson set out to implement the Project's aim of contributing to curriculum strategies in schools through running weekend conferences which drew in NGO education staff, initially from Christian Aid and later from Oxfam and the Development Education Centres. He published a series of articles in *New Era* exposing the strengths and weaknesses of the World Studies approach and in due course a number of handbooks for teachers, including *Learning for Change in World Society*. Richardson has acknowledged working for and with Thomas after his return to Oxfam, when the World Studies Project was gaining in influence. This included helping to run a teacher training course in Coventry (see below). Through such collaboration with other educators and organisations, the World Studies Project made a significant contribution to the development education movement during the 1970s, while being another channel for global learning which was emerging in its own right.

The World Studies Project was managed by the PGWG through its One World Trust. Its educational aims were therefore set more on an understanding of global processes than the study of the poorer areas of the world being pioneered by those on the development side. This can be seen, for example, in the choice of learning topics in resource books published by the Project in 1977-1978 in collaboration with Nelson: *World in Conflict*, *Progress and Poverty*, *Caring for the Planet* and *Fighting for Freedom*. Of these four, only the book on poverty could be fully described as in the field of development education. The one on the planet belongs more rightly to the field of environmental education which was emerging at the same time. The other two are closer to the roots of EIU and the wider movement for global learning in post-war concerns for peace and belief in the potential role in this of the United Nations and its organisations.

The Project was initially funded for three years with a grant from the Leverhulme Trust, and then for a further three with a grant from the DES.³⁴ Seen from a financial perspective, the World Studies Project was therefore an organisation

closer to the DES than the ODM, where proponents of development education were seeking funding and influence. Therefore, it is more appropriate to see the World Studies Project as seeking to fulfil a bridging role between advocates of world-minded learning and development education, or rather to see all the trends and movements for global education as inevitably entwined at this time and lacking in clarity – possibly deliberately so – about their specific identities and approaches to global learning in schools.

The progress of the World Studies Project is beyond the scope of this chapter and extensively documented elsewhere.³⁵ However, there was always an awareness within the Project of difficulties for teachers in taking on the concept of 'World Studies'. It could be seen as a vague term and it was not clear how this related to teaching in a multi-racial society, which 'should be an important element in world studies – or even the basis for them'.³⁶ Richardson was also highly aware of the diversity of the field in which he was working to position World Studies:

First, the view is that there should be more, and better 'education for international understanding', 'education for peace', 'world studies', 'education for a multi-cultural society', and so on. (Such phrases evoke a general and shared concern, but alas also, as you know, a certain lack of clarity, and of agreement.). But, second, one of the factors militating against a significant development in this field is the fragmentation which exists amongst the many organisations and projects which have an active concern, and which have important resources [so] it seems sensible, on the face of it, for some of the main people to sit round the table, and to begin (it could be no more than a beginning) to consider the possibility of greater co-ordination and interaction.³⁷

The Director of the World Studies Project devoted much time and energy to identifying and positioning development education in relation to both international understanding and environmental education, as well as long traditions in educational thinking and practice:

World Studies is a phrase of the 1980s. But it was in fact coined in the early 1960s, and belongs to a tradition of educational thinking and striving which goes back at least to the nineteenth century. The tradition has two separate but intertwining strands – ‘world understanding’ on the one hand, ‘child-centredness’ on the other.³⁸

The significant word here is ‘striving’, reflecting the importance of these movements in aiming to change and improve on prevailing concepts of education. From this came the idea of ‘learning for change’ which formed the main title of the Project’s most influential publication in 1976: *Learning for Change in World Society: Reflections, Activities and Resources*. The book opened on its title page with the claim:

- The modern world is increasingly one world – a single world society.
- What do we teach and learn in secondary schools about this world society? In particular, about change in world society?³⁹

The topic web for learning about world society included ‘economic development’ as a value and ‘poverty’, ‘malnutrition’ and ‘disease’ as problems, along with ‘environmental damage’, ‘violence’ and ‘oppression’.⁴⁰ Here again can be seen the positioning of issues seen as development or Third World issues inside the construction of a model for learning in a whole world context. The selection of pieces offered as ‘Reflections’ included writers from the ‘South’ like Ngugi Wa Thiong’o and Kamla Bhasin, as well as Barbara Ward, Theodore Roszak and Johan Galtung, among a range of writers from the ‘North’. The ‘Activities’ section

included interactive learning ideas on 'Images of Poverty' with 'Images of the World' and 'Images of Peace'. An activity on 'Surveys of the Media' included newspaper extracts on 'Hunger'. The 'Resources' section of the book was divided into sections of background reading on 'World affairs' and 'Change in education' as well as recommending a number of 'magazines and journals' on development. Oxfam, other development NGOs, CWDE and WDM were listed as 'useful addresses' for 'Aid and Trade'. The 'Appendix' on 'Vocabulary' explored meanings of key terms which included 'world society', 'conflict', 'development and environment', 'justice', 'events and organisations' and 'hearts and minds'. The final 'Index of topics' includes 'Justice' and 'Poverty' but not 'Development'. The 'Acknowledgements' of 'Contributors' included many from the world of 'education' like David Bridges, Godfrey Brown and Ivor Goodson, together with some few from the world of 'development' including Andrew Hutchinson and Judith Holland from Christian Aid and Scott Sinclair from Birmingham DEC. No specific Oxfam educational resources were referenced, apart from a mention of posters in the 'Resources' section.

Therefore, *Learning for Change* can be seen as an all purpose handbook aimed at many areas of interest and not specifically as a defining book for a development education movement. The second edition of the book, in 1979, added a 'Synthesis' section that included outputs from the 1978 conferences (see Chapter Eight) and a range of possible approaches for a 'five-part course' in World Studies to cover 'economics, politics, anthropology, geography, international relations' through the study of topics for 'violence/peace, poverty/development, ecological balance and oppression/justice'.⁴¹ This section also contained a set of provocative quotations as 'fictionalised accounts of things which have really happened to teachers using this book', including this reference to charitable fund-raising:

The three of us were comparing notes about how our courses on world development were going. 'The important thing', David was

saying, 'is to prevent the kids feeling completely helpless. I think we should encourage them to collect money for a charity, to show them that there's something they themselves can *do*.' – 'Well I think,' Jane said, 'that that would do far more harm than good.'⁴²

The World Studies Project did achieve a measure of informal support from the DES, through its personal contact with Shirley Williams. In a letter from the DES on the publication of the four topic books for secondary pupils, Richardson's publishers were informed that:

Shirley Williams was more than usually interested to see the publications you sent her because of her former links with the One World Trust... However, I think you will appreciate that Education Ministers do not normally commend particular teaching materials and text books publicly. In this case, however, the World Studies Project was partially financed by a grant from this Department and Mrs Williams therefore has it in mind, when opportunity arises in one of her speeches to mention the books as an example of interesting current initiatives in the field of political education.⁴³

By this time there was the ODM Development Education Fund in existence and Richardson was seeking financial support from it for a subsequent publication – the *Debate and Decision* teachers' handbook (see Chapter Eight), and then to fund a successor to himself to maintain the life of the Project, and after that for a project Centre for World Studies. Of these, only the first did receive ODM support but the examples indicate how the Project was operating between the two Ministries, being a rare example at this time of receiving support from both.

An important strand of educational influence was through publishing. *The World Studies Bulletin* started as a quarterly insert in *New Era* in late 1970. For many years the parent magazine had been the published organ of the New Education

Fellowship, offering articles with ideas from educators around the world about child-centred learning and free school movements. James Henderson, who was Senior Lecturer in History at the University of London Institute of Education after teaching at Bedales School, became editor of *New Era*. Henderson's interests were strongly in the area of global learning and he has become identified in the UK with the use of the term 'world studies'.⁴⁴ He initiated the new Bulletin in order to provide more focused coverage of news and initiatives in the arena for the development of World Studies. This therefore gave educators like Og Thomas scope to promote education for development within that arena, as in the series of short pieces he wrote for the Bulletin in 1971 to 1973. Henderson also helped to initiate the World Studies Project that engaged Richardson and he was named in an early Antipoverty document as one of the people 'associated with the working group'.⁴⁵ In 1971 David Bolam at Keele University took over the editorship of the World Studies Bulletin. Bolam was also managing the Schools Council Integrated Humanities Project at this time, so there is strong probability that Thomas in the first years of running Antipoverty had direct contact with Bolam as well as Henderson. The study/action projects at lower secondary levels were targeted at Integrated Studies courses, particularly for the geographical area of these.

Robin Richardson has described the 'origins of education for international understanding in the field of progressive education, as exemplified in this country by Bedales and other such schools and internationally by the New Education Fellowship'. He acknowledges particular influence on his own work of:

... two writers who were saying some of the same things that the Fellowship had been saying. I was not at that stage aware, however, of the origins of world studies in progressive or radical education dating back to the beginning of the century. The two writers were Paulo Freire and David Wolsk. The latter's seminal work was published by UNESCO.⁴⁶

A string of articles in *New Era / World Studies Bulletin* and the more recent *World Studies Journal* help to identify this new, more politically aware, trend in British educational influence. Richardson has written and published much on the origins of the movement, and on its critics and opponents, stating that: 'In 1970 the phrase "World Studies" was almost unknown'.⁴⁷

It is best to see the role of the World Studies Project as a challenger of over-easy conceptualisation and provider of helpful learning ideas along the way to exploring the limits and possibilities for an educational movement. The Director operated under the title of 'world studies' and had many personal links and connections with those preferring other names like 'development' or 'environmental' education. The inter-related trends were in a state of flux and operated fluidly across any narrowly guarded frontiers, except that those on the development side were seen at the time and to some extent still are as more exclusive, whether because there were more 'been-tos' who had direct experience of the Third World like returned volunteers along this strand of the greater movement or because there were more who were more passionately campaigning to expand the scale of the Government's aid programme.

The Changing World in the Classroom

A significant report on the progress on the development education side of global learning was produced in 1974. This was *The Changing World in the Classroom*, researched by two Geography lecturers as part of a Europe wide survey for UNESCO. This was under some pressure of speed in order to meet deadlines, with a final meeting in Paris to submit the completed work.⁴⁸ It provided a comprehensive survey of educational change current in England and Wales in 1974, including the wide range of activities of the Schools Council. It described in successive chapters government and non-government organisations that could be said to be active in the emerging field of development education,

including Oxfam 'the giant in the education field' and Antipoverty where 'the twin theme of each project is *study* and *action*, and it is particularly interesting to see the different methods of action used'.⁴⁹ It was clear to the writers of the report that the 'action' part of these programmes was not compulsory but rather aimed at provoking the response 'what can I do?' from which 'a practical line of action can be offered'. The model in Manchester of a Third World study expanding out from 'local environmental study' is noted here and an evaluation of the organisation's work offered as:

Anti-Poverty points a way forward in development education in four spheres: variety of action; gaining the official backing of LEAs, including financial support, so that participation is encouraged by advisers and appears 'respectable' to Headteachers; producing and evaluating materials in a variety of situations with as much care as Schools Council projects; and finally, linking work on the local environment, Britain and Europe with work on the Third World so that a comparative study is built up.⁵⁰

The Changing World in the Classroom also surveyed existing learning materials and initiatives in schools. It ended with a list of conclusions and recommendations, including a much used diagram showing how the writers saw 'The "vicious circle" of neglect' in this field which could be broken through a range of interventions (see diagram on the following page).⁵¹

IMAGE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



*Fig. 3: The 'Vicious Circle' of Neglect... & how it might be broken
(enlarged from original edition of Wright, D. and Wright, J., 1974, page 44).*

The 'vicious circle' diagram was taken to suggest that NGO education departments and their outreach programmes and Development Education Centres could have a role in breaking the circle and helping to improve learning about development in schools, although that is not explicitly stated in the original diagram. It was certainly taken that way by the time that the University of London Institute of Education organised a conference for teachers on development education in 1980. Then, Robin Richardson, as out-going Director of the World Studies Project, criticised the impact that the perspective offered by the Wrights in their report had on limiting change within schools, through over-emphasising the role of external agents:

With hindsight, we can see that the vicious circle drawn by the Wrights had a rather unfortunate influence on the progress of development education in the 1970s. For it placed much too much relative emphasis on the role and importance of organisations and institutions outside schools. It thus legitimised and strengthened, rather than challenged, the priorities of voluntary organisations and, in due course, those of the Advisory Committee on Development Education.⁵²

By the middle of 1976 Government decisions had been taken to replace the old VCOAD education unit with a new independent education charity supported by central government funds. This was tentatively called the Centre for Development Education (later officially titled the Centre for World Development Education, CWDE). Reginald Prentice, as Minister of Overseas Development, wrote to the Oxfam Director underlining his belief in the importance of 'an essential degree of agency support' for the new development education organisation, while at the same time announcing his intention to 'provide funds to help voluntary bodies to carry out development education / information work in this country'.⁵³

During the brief period towards the end of 1976 when Frank Judd was Minister of Overseas Development, both the change to CWDE and the beginnings of ODM funding for development education initiatives were set in motion. While he was deputy to Prentice, Judd had arranged a visit to the Netherlands and returned impressed by the level of their financial commitment to their aid programme and, within that, to their development education programme at home. As Minister, he had to fight with the Treasury for the continuation of funding for CWDE, seeing this in recollection as the need 'to build up a head of steam' against government inertia.⁵⁴ Judd's career is a special example of growing up in the climate of education for international understanding with his father's involvement in CEWC, being politically active in the Labour Party and being both Minister for Overseas Development and Minister of State at the Foreign Office and also directing Voluntary Service Overseas and Oxfam during the 1980s. This means that Judd has been an initiator in both government and voluntary sector circles. His view on this is the need not 'to be a wallflower' but to be proactive, standing if necessary against those who saw areas like development education as a coterie of enthusiasts for a cause.⁵⁵

Oxfam's Education Department – phase 2

The Department under Richard Taylor: 1971-1974

Although Og Thomas can well be seen to have been the main architect of Oxfam's development education programme after his return in 1974, there were seeds being sown during his absence. Richard Taylor was brought in to head up the Education Department and staff in the department were instrumental in the decision to ask Thomas to return.⁵⁶ During a later internal debate about the value of the newly emerging DEC's to Oxfam, the communications head, Philip Jackson, claimed that the origins of this were in the FAO's conference in Frascati in 1972. Jackson wrote: 'I first suggested that Oxfam should be

concerned and involved with poverty issues at home when I put the thought to Leslie Kirkley at an international workshop on development education which we both attended in Italy in June 1972'.⁵⁷ Given that Thomas had attended the Bergendal Conference on development education the previous year, this claim could appear to be a retrospective justification, and in any case direct alleviation of poverty within the United Kingdom – if that is what Jackson meant – is not the same as supporting learning about development.

An article in the *Times Educational Supplement* in 1973 on the 'Aid v information clash at Oxfam' pinpointed the conflicting needs within Oxfam and other charities between raising funds for the developing countries and educating British children about the Third World. This stated that 'home education departments are said to be hampered by a shortage of cash and by lack of cooperation'. In this climate, the pressure on charities to produce 'unbalanced and emotive' materials was recognised. Against this trend, the UNESCO/FAO initiative which resulted the following year in the report on *The Changing World in the Classroom* was mentioned, as was the role of VCOAD as a co-ordinating body for the charities. This latter 'has not been entirely successful' and 'is always short of money', so Oxfam has 'kept up its own education department'. The conclusion of the article was that 'the choice between education and profitable propaganda remains'.⁵⁸

During this phase of the Education Department's development, Richard Taylor wrote a number of papers on Oxfam's position in relation to the VCOAD network. In January 1974, on 'Oxfam's Education Department under review' he introduced the UNESCO/VCOAD report by David and Jill Wright on *The Changing World in the Classroom* (see above) with its analysis of Oxfam's positive role in supporting teachers. Taylor's observation at this time was that VCOAD was acting as 'an additional education unit – and not the replacement of separate education units by the charities concerned'.⁵⁹ In a subsequent paper, Taylor introduced the newly re-organised Education Department to avoid

confusion over line management, while at the same time affirming that VCOAD was now being seen as co-ordinating the efforts of the separate member organisations while leaving each one 'to carry out its own education programme'.⁶⁰ Taylor's 'wise custodianship' of the Education Department meant that the field was ready for Thomas to return and further develop Oxfam's education work, while testing the belief of NGOs in the efficacy of VCOAD's educational role.⁶¹

In contrast to Oxfam's critical position in relation to the work of VCOAD's Education Unit, Derek Walker put an article in *New Era* in 1974 outlining the major achievements of the Unit. These were traced back to the influential role of FFHC in making a 'break-through' in 'public recognition, especially in official circles, that world development was a subject worthy of educational attention'.⁶² Subsequently, from its formation in 1966 onwards, VCOAD had added to the FFHC initiative in monitoring examination syllabuses 'the task of co-ordinating the growing educational efforts of its member agencies'. VCOAD's Schools Committee had officers of the member agencies together with representatives of the ODM and DES. This committee guided the work of VCOAD's Education Unit which was directed by Walker. The article referred to the 1971 conference of teachers and educationists which had affirmed the philosophy of VCOAD's educational work to raise understanding of world development in schools and more generally. A major way of achieving this had been through the publication and regular updating of its resource guide, *The Development Puzzle*, which had sold around 16,000 copies.⁶³ This was one sign of increasing interest among teachers in the issues:

The marked increase in interest in world development over the past seven years in British schools and colleges has not, of course, been due simply to the efforts of VCOAD and its member agencies. The 1971 conference noted that effective teaching about development was more likely to happen 'if school procedures used

in the learning situation encouraged attitudes of enquiry and co-operation'. In many schools changes have been taking place in that direction, and undoubtedly this has increased the likelihood of teachers wishing to take on the study of development.⁶⁴

Walker concluded with reference to the pressure of outside events, declaring that to prepare young people for full citizenship 'it has become unmistakably clear that the complex of changes known as "development" has to form an integral part of their studies'.⁶⁵ This analysis drew attention to the growing awareness with the emerging development education movement of the importance of learning methods – the educational dimension of development education (see Chapter Six). This emphasises the inter-connectedness of strands within the movement which this thesis has identified as four varieties of development education. The clarification helps historical understanding, where in actuality there were many diverse points of crossover between individuals and organisations.

The Department under Og Thomas: 1974-1977

Og Thomas was no doubt aware of the challenge facing him in 1974. He had kept in contact with Oxfam colleagues from his home in Oxford.⁶⁶ He returned to lead Oxfam's Education Department, now the Youth and Education Department, in 1974 and working for a new Director in Brian Walker. This re-appointment had been sought from within Oxfam and was more on Thomas' own terms than his previous period with Oxfam from 1966 to 1970. Thomas insisted on having the activities of the youth team under his direction, in order to avoid the differing ideas and methods they had been using during his previous term. He also succeeded in negotiating with Brian Walker a crucial agreement to separate education from fundraising, which according to Pete Davis, acted as a model for other development NGOs:

In 1974, Og secured the agreement from the then Oxfam Director, Brian Walker, and Oxfam Trustees that Education should be pursued for its own sake, and be separated from fundraising activities; a process which provided the all important model for development NGOs trying to establish development education in the UK as a professional service and influence on curriculum development and content.⁶⁷

Pete Davis wrote 'His theories of study-action as an empowering process for young people's education – would have been acknowledged and welcomed by Paulo Freire and his ilk but were probably too radical for the British education scene of the 1970s'.⁶⁸ If Thomas is seen as the main inspirer of Oxfam's move into development education, as practitioners of the time are generally in agreement, then the question of educational influences on Thomas' democratic, active view of learning is important.⁶⁹ These certainly included helping to draft the *Haslemere Declaration* with its critique of aid and the then British aid programme and Nyerere's views on African socialism and development in Tanzania. They also included the Newsom Report, *Half Our Future* (HMSO, 1963) as referred to by Thomas in an internal policy document, summarising the Report's main theme as:

... the areas of enquiry and the information presented to children in their courses of study should be as closely connected as possible to the children's own lives, and to the problems which they will foreseeably meet in the adult world.⁷⁰

Successive editions of *Oxfam News* described the growing adult education programme of seminars on 'World Poverty' in partnership with the Workers Educational Association (WEA), including a national Summer School for July 1971 with guest speakers to include Reginald Prentice and Shirley Williams. This was expected to attract participants from teacher training colleges as well

as trade unions and voluntary agencies. Adult education initiatives were beyond the remit of the Education Department and only brief references to schools' work were being highlighted at this time in *Oxfam News*, typified by a description in the December 1970 issue of a joint Christian Aid and Oxfam poster designing project in Croydon, supported by Oxfam's Education Organiser for S. E. London as part of a secondary level project on 'Food and Farming'.⁷¹ In May 1974, there was a page-and-a-half feature on 'Oxfam and Education' describing games and visual resources available and asking for teachers to volunteer to help in reviewing textbooks on 'world problems' which were 'pouring off the presses' as this topic was becoming more popular in secondary schools 'especially with less able 14-16 year olds'.⁷² There was also an article on the role of Geography in teaching about the Third World, written by David Wright and highlighting the 'vicious circle Oxfam helps to break' drawn from the task he and his wife Jill had just been commissioned by UNESCO to undertake in surveying development education in the UK (see above). On account of the absence of articles beyond these in *Oxfam News* about education work, it could be inferred that the loss of Og Thomas to Antipoverty had led to a reduction in impact and analysis of formal sector initiatives. This could also be explained through a worsening economic situation for the Education Department within Oxfam.⁷³ At the very least, Thomas had been recruited – and was to be again – on the basis of his strong formal sector experience.

Thomas had published in 1971 an 'Open letter to a teacher' in *Oxfam News*, which put the case for seeing the importance of schools as places where value judgements are formed. His points reflected a more analytical position in relation to the question of why teachers should be concerned with developing countries. The reasons Thomas saw were that these countries made up most of the world, that there were positive as well as negative aspects to learning about them and that it was important to see links to our own lives 'by the moral problem of our affluence and their poverty'.⁷⁴ Thomas criticised school learning as providing 'too much learning for learning's sake and too little for humanity's sake', seeing

this approach as 'what Newsom asks for'.⁷⁵ This shows again the impact which the 1963 report had on Thomas' educational thinking, which is possibly a reflection on the fact that he had been out of the country for quite a few of the intervening years. This article also set out Thomas' view at the time of how school learning could and should lead to action, as this was the place to begin practising 'how to be involved in other people's problems', stating his belief that:

The schools that encourage their children to give to charity are all too often the schools that "have no time" for the study of the ills which charities are trying to cure. Yet it is possible for a class to become involved both emotionally and rationally in a problem; study, judgement and action should all be part of the same educational process, not separate or, as some people judge, mutually exclusive activities.⁷⁶

The debate about development was related to deciding how, why and to what extent Oxfam should involve itself in the professional world of education within the UK. Debates on developing Oxfam's education policy showed how important it was to balance a growing professionalism with the encouragement and involvement of amateurs and volunteers that had always been the lifeblood of Oxfam as an NGO. As more trained teachers were recruited and given scope to create curriculum development projects with teachers and local authority advisers, this gap became increasingly hard to bridge. Teachers may have felt negative reactions to working with charities through a professional resistance to purely fundraising activities rather than educationally based ones while at the same time seeing the importance of Oxfam continuing to develop this kind of co-working and not handing it over to a less charitable seeming central body like VCOAD / CWDE.⁷⁷ Thomas can be seen as reasonably successful in enabling a professional unit to develop while at the same time keeping it within an acceptable Oxfam philanthropic and voluntary perspective. Thomas was able to use the concept of development education as exemplified through the growth of

local Oxfam supported Development Education Centres to keep his vision of important educational work acceptable to the management of the NGO. Although this may now be describable as 'Oxfam development education' or 'NGO development education' at the time it was increasingly being identified as simply 'development education', of relevance and purpose within Oxfam's aims as an overseas development charity keen to realise the importance of raising awareness of development issues at home.

A comment in Robin Richardson's personal papers is of relevance here. He wrote to Og Thomas after observing a team meeting of Oxfam's Education Department. The meeting had explored Thomas' 'bright ideas... for fundraising... for work in colleges of education' – as 'opposite to what development education at its best ought to be' and developed advice for better team sharing. Members of the team were concerned to hear ideas in order to 'see more clearly and accurately where the overall programme of the education department is going, and where their own personal work fits into it'. This had included suggestions for possible sub-committees as a 'fairly horizontal and friendly scheme'. Richardson's note highlights underlying tensions within the Oxfam Education team who could have regarded themselves more as 'Og's dogs' than 'creative people working deeply together'. He also commended Thomas on his own 'masterful silence at one or two times when you must have been very tempted indeed to speak out'.⁷⁸ This provides a rare internal insight into how the team were actually working together by 1976, both in a co-operative shared enterprise and at the same time one that reflected wider areas of difference and even disagreement about the purpose and methods of Oxfam's education work.

An expanding programme of publications for schools

Also of importance during this second phase of Thomas' leadership was the rapid increase in the extent and quality of Oxfam's education publications.

During the first half of the 1970s Marieke Clarke researched and produced a series of six wallets to illustrate the six major areas of the world, including Greece where Oxfam had first worked. The wallets were in a flexible format containing black and white photographs, background information to each country, traditional music and crafts plus ideas for classroom learning activities. Each wallet included a short description of an Oxfam supported project 'to show involvement as well as factual information'.⁷⁹ Later, Clarke was able to draw on materials from the Netherlands to produce two subsequent wallets on *The Samo of Upper Volta* and *Dousadj – A village in Iran*. In 1972, Clarke was able for the first time to collect materials directly from a Third World country. She visited Samanvaya School in Bihar, India, and returned there in 1976. As a result she was able to publish a range of village-level materials. Samanvaya or Harmony School had been set up after the Bihar famine of 1967 for children of former bonded labourers whose parents had been given land. The success of the *Samanvaya School: an Indian community study* wallet, published in 1977, was due in large part to Suresh Kumar Awasthi, who Clarke married in 1974 and who made a large unpaid contribution to the work of Oxfam's Education Department.⁸⁰

The approach of Oxfam's materials for schools was inter-disciplinary with an emphasis on active learning. The production of classroom learning materials remained the core of Oxfam's education work through the 1970s and beyond, with a strong visual component drawing on photographs from Oxfam fieldwork. Marieke Clarke has described the use of black and white photographs for fundraising purposes from the Congo relief efforts in the early 1960s as a key attraction for teachers, because pictures of disasters and development projects had not been so easily available before. This acknowledged area of Oxfam influence carried over into its educational products, although this could be seen to have had a possibly negative effect against the aim of challenging negative stereotypes of people living in poverty.⁸¹

Initiatives with teacher training colleges

Under Thomas' direction of its Education Department, Oxfam was able to move out of Oxfam House into the educational field, as highlighted by growing collaboration between Oxfam's regional Education Advisers and LEA advisers and Teacher Centre wardens in the mid 1970s. Well known figures in the world of geographical education, such as Rex Walford and Michael Storm, had been supporting Oxfam's education department since the mid 1960s. Walford had helped to design a *Hunger Game* that was run at a Young Oxfam conference at Keele University in 1967 (see Chapter Five).⁸² Clarke also recalls that it was the amount of correspondence coming into the department from teachers that helped to influence the directions that were taken, because teachers around the country wanted more support to bring development awareness into their classrooms. During his second period at Oxfam, Thomas collaborated with teacher educators to create and run a course on *The Third World in Initial Teacher Training* (in 1976, with the World Studies Project). This is evidence of a growing perception of the importance to Oxfam's education work of collaborating directly with teachers rather than being satisfied with creating materials for them to use if they knew about them and wanted to use them.

The Third World in Initial Teacher Training had been initiated by Thomas circulating a paper in 1976 to a number of contacts in colleges of education 'to speculate on ways in which the "Third World" perspective might be to the benefit of a professional studies course'.⁸³ The outcome of his mailing was two experimental inputs into teacher training courses. Robin Richardson was brought in to set up and run a wide-ranging optional course at Coventry College of Education on 'Education for Change' and John Poxon ran a more focused core course at King Alfred's College in Winchester on 'The Curriculum'.

The course in Coventry is of relevance to this study of trends during the mid 1970s both through being another example of development education learning

activity based in the West Midlands and as a direct coming together of Oxfam Education aims and inputs with the ideas and methodologies of the World Studies Project. The course ran as an option during the autumn term 1976 with thirteen third-year students. The expressed aim was to 'examine ways in which education can contribute to social change' through case studies from Latin America, Africa, Asia and the UK, through encountering 'Third World' educational thinkers including Freire, Nyerere and Gandhi and through considering the possibility of closer personal involvement in overseas projects.⁸⁴ This was seen as an attempt to bring together Thomas' belief in the importance of direct contact and exchange through the medium of Oxfam with Richardson's interests in the transfer of wider educational ideas.

Oxfam Education staff contributed directly to the course. During one session, Marieke Clarke showed slides about a Gandhi-inspired community education project in Bihar State, India (from the Samanvaya School pack, see above). In another session, a local Oxfam staff member, Sue Thompson, showed slides from community development projects in Brazil. In a later session, Thomas described the work of Oxfam and 'introduced a discussion on the ways in which students might make closer contact with third world countries, and on practical actions which students might consider as a result of the course'.⁸⁵

Richardson's written description of the course outlines how the session with Thomas started with a Ewan MacColl song about making the world a better place which led on to inviting Thomas to give a biographical introduction to himself. One student expressed frustration with this session, feeling that the song had been a challenge which was not fully met by Thomas' 'negative attitude' in trying to stir them up. Another felt 'they were being judged to see if they had passed his requirements' and this was not appropriate because the speaker had not been at previous sessions.⁸⁶ Richardson's own reflections on the negativity generated by this particular session in the course were that Thomas' suggestions for practical action were not exceptionable and were likely

to be taken up by the students. Their frustrations seemed to show a wider unease because the ideas 'were apparently coming from outside'.⁸⁷ The difficulty had been in trying to balance the input of educational ideas in the course through studying texts like Nyerere's *Education for Self Reliance* with the direct Oxfam inputs. Another session presenter was Marion Flood from the Centre for Social Education in London, considered by Richardson 'to be doing work which is similar to Freire-inspired work in developing countries'.⁸⁸ Flood demonstrated problems of discipline and freedom in classrooms and a variety of styles of college lecturers, drawing on much direct learning experience which was appreciated by the students. On evaluation, Richardson's view of this course was that it had helped to bring understanding of the Third World closer to the students, but not necessarily the opportunities for direct action which Thomas had hoped for. As one student commented, bringing a Freirean dimension to matters of aid and awareness raising:

The conscientisation of people in this country and others would greatly help education in Tanzania. Conscientisation implies a critical awareness of the world and the ability to try to transform it. A conscientisation approach in schools and adult education would motivate students to try and change and aid the surrounding world, including Tanzania.⁸⁹

The course had created a model which other colleges could follow, which was one reason for printing the report on both experiments as an Oxfam Education booklet in 1979, even though there had been a long delay for Thomas to see this through to publication. One difficulty, in comparison with the parallel course at King Alfred's College, was that 'Education for Change' had been an option, available only to a few motivated students. However, it does show the way that development education was potentially reaching into initial teacher training by the mid 1970s, even if this example was based more on the language of Third World awareness and action than development education. It indicates how

Oxfam's Education Department was looking to experiment and to collaborate with educators 'beyond development education' like Richardson. At the same time it highlights the familiar restraints created through being an Oxfam course rather than a world-minded one, in being too focused on results in direct action which the small timescale and scope of this particular course could barely accommodate.

New directions in Oxfam's education policy

A new policy for the Education Department had been agreed by Oxfam's Council of Management in November 1974. This laid out four operational objectives 'to deepen people's understanding of, their commitment and active response to development':

- a. by working with young people both inside and outside the formal education system;
- b. by liaising with and thus influencing Local Education Authorities, the Youth Service and the Ministry of Education and Science;
- c. by working in the field of adult education; and
- d. by an on-going programme of staff and supporters' training and education.⁹⁰

These areas of influence are justified for 'changing attitudes and encouraging involvement' reflecting Oxfam's experience 'that true development only takes place when people decide, for themselves, to help themselves to improve their own conditions'. Therefore Oxfam's concern for people in the Third World should reach young people in the UK 'through the medium of our educational work'. Understanding development in other countries is linked to 'development in the UK as part of a world wide process'.⁹¹

This policy clearly states that although funds are welcome 'fundraising is not the objective of our educational policy' because 'the primary objective is a commitment to global development'. Oxfam allocated five percent of its net un-earmarked income to this work, which ensured stability. One focus area for educational work was at this time seen to be primary schools to influence the early formative years after which attitudes are difficult to change. Another focus area was non-academic pupils in the thirteen to sixteen year-old range because many pupils feel 'powerless and disaffected' in a way similar to the poor the world over. This can be seen as thinking about a global extension to the spirit of the Newsom Report, thereby justifying an area of work where 'social action at home will be as relevant, if not more relevant, than social action overseas'. Besides this work with primary and secondary schools, the policy also aimed to influence teacher training and 'where possible' the Ministry for curricular and policy planning although this was seen as 'long term work' where 'any gains made will be significant'.⁹²

Also within the scope of the 1974 policy was media awareness, apprenticeship schemes and youth work with eighteen to twenty-five year-olds outside the formal education system. Youth work, unlike schools work, had a fundraising component and was geared towards stimulating 'a meaningful commitment to direct action in support of the Third World and Oxfam's overseas programme'. An integrated youth programme required close relationships with Oxfam regional staff. Work in universities was seen as best left to Third World First, in closer co-operation with Oxfam than before.

Limited scope is recognised in the policy document for adult education, although internal training is seen as important. The Department structure provides for an Education Officer (for the formal sector work), a National Youth Officer (for the informal sector) and a Training and Development Officer. Finally the importance of close co-operation between Education Department staff and regional staff is spelled out, making it clear that the latter are free to respond to local requests

from schools in their own ways without having to refer it to members of the Education Department. This policy can be seen as endeavouring to put the strands of Oxfam's education work into a coherent framework for future development. It identifies the importance of Oxfam contributing to professional development and curriculum influencing work. It does not use the terminology of development education but it does attempt to provide a rationale for young people learning about and from development processes in the Third World as part of understanding their own capacities for development.

Thomas' first Monthly Report in January 1975 showed a staff of six people working 'to encourage more and better teaching about development issues and about the Third World' in the formal sector, with fifteen more working directly with young people. Here the term Development Education appears as giving 'a basis for our work as both the "education" and "youth" staffs are working in the field of development education' defined as:

This is more than education about development; it is education for development, so Oxfam's development education programme in the UK is as much part of our operational work as our overseas programmes.⁹³

Thomas and his staff clearly felt it was important to make this understood by staff in the rest of the organisation. The 1974 policy had agreed that fundraising was only an indirect aim of educational work in the formal sector. This internal report points out that this work of the Education Department should be seen as an operational programme based in the United Kingdom rather than part of generating supporters and funds for overseas programmes.

A subsequent policy statement on education was written by Thomas in a 'confidential memo' in December 1976. This should be seen in the context of the broader debate on the aims of national education policy initiated by Prime

Minister James Callaghan through his speech at Ruskin College in October 1976. For Oxfam, the four operational objectives agreed in 1974 were refined for formal education work in four categories:

- a) servicing schools and acting as a resource
- b) producing teaching materials
- c) providing professional advice and support for teachers
- d) research and development.⁹⁴

These categories were seen as inter-related and all 'necessary to the process of Development Education in the UK'. Area a) could be supported by regional and youth staff and did not require any special educational training beyond 'a sympathy with young people and an interest in schools'. Area b) was seen as having changed since Oxfam pioneered publishing about Third World and development issues in the 1960s. With the take-over of this by commercial publishers, Oxfam should still have a role in producing specialised materials like localised case studies. Area c) for professional support was a role 'which schools have been more reluctant to accept in Oxfam though when they get to know the staff concerned this reluctance most often disappears':

It is also a role which comes less naturally to Oxfam since it is not so straightforwardly linked with Oxfam's own work and experience overseas. At present, however, Oxfam is one of the main spenders, perhaps the main spender, in this field in the UK.⁹⁵

The fourth area for research and development was 'an even stranger role for Oxfam, from the point of view of the educational establishment'. However, it could be viewed as the same process as Oxfam's overseas work and another area where Oxfam was 'virtually alone in this field'.⁹⁶

This confidential memo attempted to define the ground for the professional expansion of Oxfam's role in the field by then being commonly referred to as development education. It still provided for a stretching of identities between what education tasks unspecialised staff and volunteers could take on and what trained teachers working as Oxfam education advisers could develop in pioneering projects with teachers in schools, Local Education Authorities and teacher training institutions. Oxfam was presented to management as 'almost certainly the biggest spender on Development Education in the UK' although 'more must be spent if we are to make an impact' while accepting that 'there is a clear limit, both political and economic, to the size of the Education Department within Oxfam'.⁹⁷

Therefore, one aim of Oxfam's education policy under Thomas was to exert 'vigilance and pressure on HMG to increase its support, both moral and financial, for Development Education' which could then support an adviser in Development Education, like the four on Oxfam salaries, in every LEA. Thomas emphasised the importance of strengthening the successor to VCOAD to 'play a much more positive role than the old unit did, especially at local level in the UK'. If this worked, then the professional support and research and development areas currently run by Oxfam should be handed over. It remained important to sustain Oxfam's direct role in servicing schools which could be run by local staff and volunteers, but which should still be seen as fund spending rather than fund raising. This strategy was presented to management as 'the general direction in which Development Education in the UK should be moving, and the way in which Oxfam's own programme can harmonise to the general advantage'. Thomas suggested that the direct school support work could be moved out of the education department to the regional management and that youth officers could have a fundraising brief. Whether or not this proposal was acceptable to management, he felt that he should devote more of his own time to developing the development education policy and therefore accept the ODM's invitation to join the ACDE in 1977.⁹⁸

The emergence of local DEC's

The concept of locally based resource centres for teachers, called Development Education Centres (DECs), became an increasingly important dimension of the work of Oxfam's Education Department during the 1970s. Four of these were directly developed and managed by Oxfam Education staff: the centres in Birmingham, North and South London and Leeds. Many others were supported by other Oxfam staff or housed on Oxfam premises. These included Leamington, Brighton, Cambridge, Manchester and other large towns and cities. Other DECs were developed like Manchester Development Education Project without direct Oxfam staffing and support. Therefore these regional resource centres cannot accurately be described as Oxfam initiatives, although it is clear that Oxfam's Education Department played a major role in defining the concept through the creation of the centres in Birmingham and London. In a paper on 'A Bit of History' written by Thomas in mid 1976, the 'Development (Education) Centres' are described as originating from the Norwich Third World Centre which ran from 1973 to 1975 before it ran out of funds, and the Third World Centre in Kingston run by a volunteer with Oxfam support. The DEC in Birmingham had been conceived since late 1974, when 'Gordon McMillan and Scott Sinclair in Birmingham were very seriously talking about the possibility of setting up a centre there'.⁹⁹ Thomas recorded that he had 'encouraged Scott to go ahead with his proposal, and as a result there has been established at the Selly Oak Colleges what must be the best-stocked and best-equipped local centre in the country'.¹⁰⁰

Setting up Birmingham DEC had involved much time commitment from Sinclair and it was still financially 'immature'. However this provided a model for similar resource, support and advice centres for Development Education to be set up in other parts of the UK. Thomas' 1976 paper is 'wholly in favour' of as wide a spread of DECs as possible. These should ideally be run by volunteers carrying

out local fundraising for them. Thomas stated his opposition in principle to Oxfam or any other national agency funding the centres:

If we do so, all we prove is that it is impossible for the centres to generate their own finance, and that they must therefore continue to rely on agency funding. Since it is clear that the agencies do not have, even between them, anything like enough money to set up and fund more than a handful of centres, I believe that for the agencies to fund centres would only ultimately result in delaying their spread.¹⁰¹

However, Thomas did see that Oxfam could support the concept of a DEC, which if successful in its own financial support could grow across the UK. This principle of encouraging 'self-help' was very familiar in Oxfam's field practice overseas. The only alternative would be for the ODM with its much larger budget to support national growth of centres. Thomas saw this as unrealistic, stating that 'the ODM would probably resist any effort to coax them in to spending this kind of money for this kind of programme'.¹⁰²

Subsequently, Peter Stark as Oxfam's head of communications was asked by directors to justify Oxfam's financial support for the centres. In an October 1978 paper he responded to a set of questions by offering the Government's definition of development education while recognising that 'there is no definitive answer just as there is none to the question "What is Development?"' The definition drew on understanding of world-wide processes relating to under-development and encouraging involvement in action for improvement. Stark presented the centres as one part of achieving the education policy objectives which had been agreed by Council in 1974, stressing the involvement of volunteers in them. The centres are described as autonomous but receiving strong support from Oxfam staff. The paper anticipated a National Conference of DECs to be held in February 1979 which would provide more insight.¹⁰³

On the origins of the DEC in Birmingham, Robin Richardson gave helpful advice to Sinclair in July 1975:

I of course like the sound of your Shop, and liked the look of the bare room you showed me last week. I have only two comments. One is the danger of splitting 'Third World development' from (a) 'First World development' and (b) the East/West conflict and the manufacture and sale of weapons... You somehow want the shop to be more than just a physical place. It's got to be throbbing with life rather than just a dead centre. (Centres are always dead, or else deal death on others). I don't know what the answer is. Do you know Uhuru in Oxford?¹⁰⁴

Scott Sinclair has reflected back on the setting up of the first Oxfam supported DEC in Birmingham as having been inspired by a concern to provide resources for local teachers, which he himself had found hard to acquire while teaching in the area. During its earliest years Birmingham DEC could have moved into a base in the local Teachers' Centre but this did not happen because of changes anticipated from the Conservatives' 1979 election victory, so the DEC established itself as an independent charity.¹⁰⁵ This reflects flexibility from Oxfam House for Oxfam's regional education staff to develop centres in response to local opportunities and without any rigid blueprint for what a DEC should be like. It also reflects an openness of key personnel like Sinclair in Birmingham, Dunn in Leeds and Brown and Mackenzie in London to develop the idea of development education following ideas from teachers and educators and not just from Oxfam policy. Sinclair and Brown have reflected on the influence of World Studies events in forming their own ideas and practice at this time, under the leadership of Robin Richardson.¹⁰⁶ Weekend conferences and the publication of the project's manual in 1976 *Learning for Change in World Society* introduced a focus on learning methodologies to the developing world content of

Oxfam's education initiatives. This brought together learning about African realities and the mechanisms of aid and development with exciting classroom initiatives that drew on psychology and life skill learning in fields of discussion technique and imaginative identification through role-play and simulation. From these diverse roots, a concept of development education emerged with the World Studies Project serving as a guide.

Although locally based, DEC's were an important strand of Oxfam's developing national education policy because they provided a model for LEA involvement and for potential central Government funding. This is why the inter-agency support or lack of it for a central organ for development education is of crucial importance. In the theatre of debate about the winding up of VCOAD and what should replace it, there is a key to understanding the extent of Oxfam's role in influencing the growth of development education at national level in England during the 1970s.

Relations with VCOAD

In April 1974, Thomas wrote to Brian Walker stating his view that the VCOAD education team had been too weak on co-ordination and too strongly independent and that their educational materials were generally dull.¹⁰⁷ In commenting on a paper produced the following month on the future of VCOAD by Charles Elliott and Richard Jolly, Thomas wrote again to Walker reaffirming that Oxfam should reduce its commitment:

At the present time, I feel that Oxfam's investment in VCOAD should be reduced to the minimum, and that our education work should be strengthened and extended because I believe we can do education better than anyone else because of the support back-up in our Aid Programme.¹⁰⁸

As part of the same internal debate about the position Oxfam should take with the ODM about the future of VCOAD, the Deputy Director wrote to the Director doubting if VCOAD could be a 'meaningful effective body' except for 'political, governmental work and educational publications'. Stringer's view was that 'all constituent agencies should give up their own work of this type', in other words that Oxfam should hand its educational publications over to the management of the VCOAD successor body.¹⁰⁹ Thomas had always expressed his view of the importance of Oxfam continuing to produce learning materials based on Oxfam's overseas experience (as explored in Chapter Five). By 1974, VCOAD had come to be seen by Oxfam as having a co-ordinating and evaluating role through producing *The Development Puzzle* as a resource book for teachers and its *Impact* publication. The logic of each agency then being left to carry out its own education programme was seen as making 'educational and financial sense' because:

- a. VCOAD is not operational in the overseas aid sense and so cannot involve people, young and adult, in the same way as can Oxfam;
- b. Schools and other bodies are understandably sensitive and on their guard where approaches from charities are concerned. If Oxfam ceases educational work and leaves it all to VCOAD, support from institutions concerned with education will become more difficult for Oxfam to obtain.¹¹⁰

As the debate with the ODM continued, Reginald Prentice seemed keen to keep agency involvement in the VCOAD successor body, while the agencies questioned the value of their continued support. Thomas' contribution to this discussion came in a letter to Walker in July 1975 questioning why Prentice was so keen on agencies putting up money for this when he had so much more available in Ministry funds. He stated his belief that it was now time for Government to accept responsibility for development education, which did happen later under the direction of Frank Judd and Judith Hart as development

ministers.¹¹¹ In Walker's external communications, he stressed the importance in Oxfam's view of the DES being involved: 'to have a really effective educational programme, we must have the DES behind us as well as the ODM'.¹¹² Thomas added to this the following month in favour of the Government 'putting a great deal more money into education for development' and questioning where the United Kingdom UNESCO and UNICEF fitted in and whether this was a problem.¹¹³ The crucial issue to investigate here is the apparent silence in these matters from the DES and why effective inter-Ministry liaison for global or development education does not seem to have taken place until the 1990s.

Learning locally: the Third World Centre in Norwich

The first local Third World Centre in Norwich was described in an article in *The Guardian* in 1973 as an 'embassy' for the developing countries in East Anglia.¹¹⁴ The setting up of a Third World resource centre was a local initiative which grew out of a World Poverty Action Group in Norwich which had originally been inspired by a returning missionary from East Bengal. The group located premises above the Oxfam shop and had sufficient funding to employ Derek Oswald as organising secretary. The Centre begged or bought learning materials from the development NGOs, organised formal and informal learning activities and established links with local and national anti-poverty groups including the Child Poverty Action Group and the Norwich Welfare Rights Group, which both claimed to be working to change 'attitudes towards poverty and inflation in the UK that are as unrealistic as those widely held about overseas aid'.¹¹⁵ The Centre also offered a base to Antipoverty for one of its middle school projects on rural health in Bolivia (see Chapter Six).

Both Thomas and Scott Sinclair from Birmingham DEC have recognised the influential role of this first local Third World resource centre in England. It is clear that there was direct contact between Thomas' small-scale but nationally

based development education organisation at Antipoverty and the new Norwich Centre. The Centre ran out of funds – not unlike Antipoverty – in the harsher economic climate for charity initiatives during the mid 1970s. However, the small seed of an idea had been sown which flourished later in the decade through a number of local DEC's, many of which still exist in the twenty first century.

There were many Third World craft and information centres springing up around the country, serving primarily the adult public. Examples of these were the Uhuru shop in East Oxford and, later, the Shanti Centre in Manchester. However, the Norwich Centre broke new ground in focusing on information and activities for bringing learning about Third World issues into schools as well as to the general public. In this sense it can rightly be seen as a prototype for the DEC movement, as a locally based and sourced site for supporting learning with resources, events and in-school activities. It is also significant that such a people-based initiative should originate in the East Midlands / East Anglian region of England, which has a strong tradition of puritan dissent and local resourcefulness. From the East Anglian city, the concept of a 'centre' for development education was picked up in the West Midlands region by Scott Sinclair and thereby grew into a national network of resource centres which found a common identity through the creation of a National Association (NADEC) by 1979 and then subsequently in partnership with the larger development NGOs as the Development Education Association (DEA) in 1993. The DEA is still in existence and has played a significant role as a pressure group for the global dimension of school learning with the DES (now DCSF) and ODM's successor, the Department for International Development (DfID).

Conclusions on Oxfam's role in the 1970s

The emergence of development education in England during the 1970s came through the interactions of people, organisations and government ministries. This chapter has traced the contributions of some of the main actors in this

process, including the DES and ODM, CEWC, VCOAD and the World Studies Project and Oxfam's Education Department. During the decade, the Joint United Nations Information Committee (JUNIC) produced an internationally acceptable definition of development education. Robin Richardson commented on this through highlighting 'The need for a working definition of "development" itself and for 'high "standards" in development education. It's very remarkable how much has been achieved in this field during the last five years or so. But nevertheless compared with other, related fields – development economics, or other aspects of education – development education is still rather amateurish'.¹¹⁶ Richardson saw clearly at this time:

The need not only to link development education projects with each other but also to link up with relevant projects in other subjects. For example, peace and conflict studies, environmental studies... 'education for a multi-cultural society', urban studies and so on... much of the really innovative and exciting work in Europe is being done by people who would not, in the normal way of things, ever hear the phrase 'development education' or even come to hear much of FAO.¹¹⁷

He re-stated that his own particular work was mainly connected with teacher training and curriculum development workshops, meaning in-school programmes rather than out-of-school.¹¹⁸

While practitioners like Walker at VCOAD / CWDE and Thomas at Oxfam headquarters were busy establishing events and materials for development education, Richardson had a unique role in providing commentary and analysis of the intersecting fields. This included offering a paper on 'Development Education: Some Tensions and Possibilities' to the debate on development education. He saw four poles which could help add clarity where neither the term 'development' nor the term 'education' was agreed on:

Pole A: The problem is poverty. The need is for development.

Pole B: The problem is oppression. The need is for liberation.

Pole C: The problem is ignorance. The need is for knowledge.

Pole D: The problem is indoctrination. The need is for enquiry.¹¹⁹

This position was summarised in a covering letter to Peter Broderick, the Head of the Information Department at the ODM. This presented:

... a helpful metaphor – of development education as having its existence at the intersection of two separate planes, or two separate frames of reference. There is the 'development' frame of reference on the one hand, and the 'education' one on the other. Misunderstandings and confusions arise when the frames are not held separate, and when it is forgotten that in both there are many tensions and controversies. Neither is stable.¹²⁰

This capacity of people more identified with the movement for world-minded education than development education in a more narrow sense can also be seen in a comment made by James Henderson at a World Studies Project Guiding Group meeting in September 1977. Henderson felt that progress could only be made if 'the relationship of the ODM and DES responsibilities' could be clarified. This had become evident after CWDE's conference at Trent Park on development education, because he saw that 'the aim should be broader than "development"'.¹²¹ It was up to those on the development education side to take on the challenge of positioning their new field of learning into the existing – and changing – field for world-minded education.

Key to this debate is the view of Oxfam education staff that they were helping teachers to challenge negative views of the Third World as stimulated by the mass media and by the advertising images of Oxfam itself and other development NGOs. One of the aims of Oxfam's Education Department to

develop understanding of the media was never properly explored during the 1970s and not until the Media Days which Oxfam's Education Department ran in partnership with the Africa Centre in London during the early 1980s. Oxfam's overseas programmes were based in some of the most deprived and difficult economic circumstances of people in developing countries. The thrust of Oxfam's educational materials was to try and present positive views of people's own development, which mirrored the aims of the programmes which Oxfam was supporting. Within the materials produced during the 1970s there can be seen to be a wide range of development messages, from country 'wallets' containing traditional songs and costumes to 'Move Against Poverty' packs demonstrating actions that could be taken by young people. The many attempts to agree definitions of development in relation to debates on the nature of development education are part of this. This was related to there being no clear agreement at times within Oxfam about what development was. This was clearly a changing field during this period of the two UN Development Decades and therefore gave Oxfam education staff a fair amount of leeway to use their own definitions. These ranged from understanding more about life in developing countries to more sophisticated concepts of helping young people to see their own development as part of a global process. The change of name from Third World resource centres to Development Education Centres is therefore of significance to this debate.

This chapter has attempted to trace some of the 'zigzags of competing pressures', in Harold Silver's terms for 'building a clear narrative of the 1960s and 1970s'.¹²² These bends along the route of development education included tensions between central government and the NGO sector, as well as tensions within that sector. In a report on the impact of VCOAD's work at the time it was closed down, a claim was made that 'many schools and educational organisations which previously looked on Development Education as simply a front for charities' fund-raising activities have altered their opinion'.¹²³ This caused a debate within the ODM about an acceptable role for NGO lobbying

activities, seen by one civil servant as 'This view of education derives straight from Dr Goebbels and we should not put government money into encouraging it, however worthy the aims of those who support it'.¹²⁴ Oxfam's Director, Brian Walker, wrote strongly to the ODM at the time of the debate about the future of VCOAD, criticising its 'London orientated image'. Walker asked the Minister for more financial support from the ODM to be given to organisations like Oxfam to develop development education, as this 'hidden work' should be more fully acknowledged.¹²⁵ This summarises the impact which Oxfam was trying to achieve, both through lobbying influence from the top and through the build-up of educational resources and initiatives by members of its Education Department.

References to Chapter Seven

¹ This is certainly the view of Scott Sinclair, and he believes it was also the view of Oxfam's Director, Brian Walker, at this time; e-mail correspondence July 2008.

² National Archives: ED121/1197: record of conversation on 19 December 1973.

³ Ibid. Letter to Mrs M. J. Head at DES External Relations Branch, 4 December 1973.

⁴ Ibid. 19 December 1973.

⁵ Ibid. 22 August 1974 memo.

⁶ Ibid. 27 August 1974 memo.

⁷ National Archives: ED135/136, October 1976.

⁸ Short, E. (1971), page 133.

⁹ Department for International Development papers OD254/217/01: Note on a meeting at the Treasury, 13 May 1976.

¹⁰ Confirmed in discussion with Pete Davis at Oxfam House on 10 December 2007. Davis' view is that the ODM had a budget under-spend which they sought to use within the UK.

¹¹ Department for International Development papers OD301/217/01: Draft Terms of Reference for the ACDE, January 1977.

¹² Ibid. Agenda for the first meeting of the ACDE, 27 January 1977.

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- ¹³ Ibid.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. Draft Terms of Reference for the ACDE, January 1977.
- ¹⁶ Ibid. S. Oakes letter to F. Judd, 18 January 1977.
- ¹⁷ Ibid. Chairman's speaking notes for ACDE meeting, 27 January 1977.
- ¹⁸ Ibid.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. Notes of a meeting in the Minister's office, 27 April 1977.
- ²⁰ Ibid. Briefing paper for the International Service Conference in Paris, 12-14 January 1978.
- ²¹ Ibid. P. Broderick letter, 20 January 1978.
- ²² Ibid. Papers: O. Thomas letter to P. Broderick, 2 March 1977.
- ²³ Oxfam Directors' Files: 5 May 1977, minutes.
- ²⁴ Ibid. 20 May 1977: P. Broderick to B. Walker.
- ²⁵ Ibid. 21 June 1977: B. Walker to P. Broderick.
- ²⁶ Department for International Development papers OD301/217/01: ODM Information Department paper, July 1977.
- ²⁷ Schlackman (1977), page 17.
- ²⁸ Ibid., page 18.
- ²⁹ Ibid., page 20.
- ³⁰ Ibid., page 45.
- ³¹ National Archives: ED121/1197, B. Cozens letter of 26 February 1972.
- ³² Proposal for a World Studies Project, 1971-72, page 1.
- ³³ Discussion with Robin Richardson, June 2005.
- ³⁴ Robin Richardson has suggested that the influence of Shirley Williams on Lord Lever may have helped to secure the first grant (in private conversation, 17 March 2008). By the time of the DES grant, Williams was Secretary of State for Education so her belief in the World Studies Project could have been an influence on the project's funding for a second time.
- ³⁵ Especially in Robin Richardson's contributions to *New Era* during the 1970s, both as editor and article writer.
- ³⁶ Parliamentary Group for World Government, Education Advisory Committee minutes, 4 December 1973, page 2. This and all World Studies Project reports and correspondence referenced here are in Robin Richardson's papers.

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- ³⁷ R. Richardson letter to G. Brown, 5 December 1974.
- ³⁸ 'The World Studies Story – Projects, People and Places', page 1.
- ³⁹ Richardson, R. (1976), page 1.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid., page 6.
- ⁴¹ Richardson, R. (1979), page 121.
- ⁴² Ibid., page 125.
- ⁴³ J. Lyle letter to D. Worlock at Nelsons Publications, 6 September 1978.
- ⁴⁴ In Robin Richardson's view, James Henderson 'probably coined the term "world studies". (Certainly that was his own perception)'; from Richardson's comments on the thesis draft, July 2008.
- ⁴⁵ In 'Antipoverty – Education for development: An explanatory paper', 1971 (for Antipoverty papers, see note 7 in Chapter Six).
- ⁴⁶ From my interview with Robin Richardson and personal correspondence by e-mail, February 2005.
- ⁴⁷ Robin Richardson on 'World Studies in the 1970s – a review of progress and unresolved tensions', *World Studies Journal*, 1 (3), 1980, page 15.
- ⁴⁸ A personal memory shared with me by David Wright at a Geographical Association conference in 2004.
- ⁴⁹ Wright, D. and Wright, J. (1974), pages 19-20.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid.
- ⁵¹ Ibid., page 44.
- ⁵² In Gardner, R. (ed.) (1980), page 85.
- ⁵³ Oxfam Directors' Files: R. Prentice letter to B. Walker, 16 June 1976.
- ⁵⁴ Meeting with Lord Judd, 9 January 2008.
- ⁵⁵ Ibid.
- ⁵⁶ Interview with Richard Taylor and Marieke Clarke, 22 March 2006. According to Clarke, she recommended Thomas to the incoming director.
- ⁵⁷ Oxfam Directors' Files: P. Jackson to B. Walker, 9 June 1975.
- ⁵⁸ *Times Educational Supplement*: 17 August 1973.
- ⁵⁹ Oxfam Directors' Files: R. Taylor paper, January 1974.
- ⁶⁰ Ibid. R Taylor policy paper, 12 September 1974.

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- ⁶¹ The view of 'wise custodianship' is from Marieke Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008. Richard Taylor, perhaps jokingly, refers to his role as the 'sandwich' between the two Thomas periods with Oxfam, in e-mail correspondence, April 2008.
- ⁶² *New Era* 3(2), 1974, page 127.
- ⁶³ *Ibid.*, page 129.
- ⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, page 130.
- ⁶⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁶ From my interview with Marcus Thompson, Oxfam's Youth Officer from 1970 to 1974; 10 December 2007.
- ⁶⁷ Pete Davis, undated Oxfam internal document titled 'Og Thomas' (written the week after his death in July 1992).
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ According to one member of Oxfam's Education Department 'Og created the science of development education'; from M. Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008.
- ⁷⁰ Oxfam Directors' Files: undated policy document around 1969-1970.
- ⁷¹ *Oxfam News*: December 1970, page 3.
- ⁷² *Oxfam News*: May 1974, pages 4-5.
- ⁷³ From M. Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008.
- ⁷⁴ *Oxfam News*: June 1971, page 3.
- ⁷⁵ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁷⁷ One example of this is Scott Sinclair seeing setting up the DEC in Birmingham as enabling him to do things with teachers which he could not do as a visible employee of Oxfam; e-mail correspondence April 2007.
- ⁷⁸ R. Richardson to O. Thomas letter, 5 March 1976.
- ⁷⁹ From M. Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008.
- ⁸⁰ *Ibid.*
- ⁸¹ M. Clarke interview, 22 March 2006. By the time that Clarke was producing a new wallet on Jamaica in the early 1980s, Oxfam's education materials were being influenced more strongly by multiculturalism and the influence of teachers in ILEA, via the DEC's in London; M. Clarke's notes on the thesis draft, August 2008.
- ⁸² E-mail correspondence, 8 May 2006.
- ⁸³ Richardson, R. and Poxon, J. (1979), page 2.

⁸⁴ Ibid., page 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid., page 4.

⁸⁶ Ibid., page 14.

⁸⁷ Ibid., page 14.

⁸⁸ Ibid., page 12.

⁸⁹ Ibid., page 17.

⁹⁰ Oxfam Directors' Files: *Appendix to Director's Report to Council of Management – Oxfam Education Policy*, 23 November 1974.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Oxfam Directors' Files: Education Department Monthly Report, January 1975.

⁹⁴ Oxfam Directors' Files: confidential memo from O. Thomas to P. Stark and B. Walker, 31 December 1976, page 1.

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Ibid., page 2. As supporting evidence, the memo cited: 'Oxfam's total expenditure, £150,000, in the Education and Youth Departments, coupled with other outgoings to 3W1 and VCOAD, make it almost certainly the biggest spender on Development Education in the UK', *ibid.*, page 1.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas internal paper, 28 June 1976, page 1.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., page 2.

¹⁰² Ibid., page 3.

¹⁰³ Oxfam Directors' Files: P. Stark paper for Director and Divisional Heads, 12 October 1978. Andrew Hutchinson's Report on the 1979 conference in Birmingham which led to the setting up of NADEC is referred to on the map of DEC's on page 255 and in Chapter Nine, note 11.

¹⁰⁴ R. Richardson to S. Sinclair letter, 8 July 1975.

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Scott Sinclair, 19 April 2007 and subsequent e-mail communication, July 2008.

¹⁰⁶ E-mail correspondence with Margot Brown, April 2007; interview with Robin Richardson, 14 February 2005.

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- ¹⁰⁷ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas to B. Walker (handwritten letter), 9 April 1975.
- ¹⁰⁸ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas to B. Walker (handwritten letter), 16 May 1975. Also 'Some Reflections on the Future Work of VCOAD' by Charles Elliott and Richard Jolly, 16 May 1975.
- ¹⁰⁹ Oxfam Directors' Files: G. Stringer to B. Walker, 27 June 1975.
- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, page 3.
- ¹¹¹ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas to B. Walker (handwritten letter), 6 July 1975.
- ¹¹² Oxfam Directors' Files: B. Walker to L. Farrer Brown, 4 November 1975
- ¹¹³ Oxfam Directors' Files: O. Thomas to B. Walker (handwritten letter), 12 December 1975.
- ¹¹⁴ 'Rich man, poor man' by Philip Barron, *The Guardian*, 27 November 1973.
- ¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁶ R. Richardson to B. MacCall at Action for Development in Rome, 20 November 1975.
- ¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*
- ¹¹⁹ R. Richardson, 'Development Education: Some Tensions and Possibilities' paper submitted to Advisory Committee on Development Education, 20 May 1977, page 2.
- ¹²⁰ R. Richardson letter to P Broderick, 2 June 1977.
- ¹²¹ World Studies Project: minutes of the 28th meeting of the Guiding Group, 27 September 1977.
- ¹²² Silver, H. (1983), page 259.
- ¹²³ National Archives: OD254/217/01, 'Report on the work of VCOAD since 1966', page 4.
- ¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, D. Williams letter to Parliamentary Secretary and Minister, 24 January 1975.
- ¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, B. Walker letter to R. Prentice, 26 May 1976.

Chapter 8

The school and the wider world: 1978

This chapter brings together the threads traced in the previous chapters for world-minded education and development education in the context of NGOs in England relating to Government. In 1978 a number of these inter-connected educational trends came together, thereby influencing the nature of development education in England through the 1980s and beyond. This is highlighted by two Government Ministers, Shirley Williams at the DES and Judith Hart at the ODM, announcing financial support in the same month. The former was for a Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding (SCEIU), strengthening the world-minded dimensions of learning. The latter was for an expanding Development Education Fund and a mechanism to make it effective, following the Report of the ACDE. Oxfam and the DEC had more of an influence on the latter than the former but in order to gain the fullest possible picture of intersecting movements it is important to try and understand both, with the pivotal role of Robin Richardson and the World Studies Project between them. This is best seen in The School and the Wider World Project during 1978, from which the chapter has been titled.

Government and NGO initiatives

The DES and EIU

The idea of creating a permanent SCEIU came to a head during 1977-1978 and was put into effect by the summer of 1978. The long tradition for teacher and pupil support for EIU through events and materials had been pioneered and sustained by CEWC from its foundation in 1939 (see Chapter Four). SCEIU,

however, was directed along a different course which was guided mainly by people working in teacher education and as a result gave a priority to initial and in-service initiatives over more pupil-focused ones.

CEWC continued its activities with its member schools during 1977-1978. The Annual Report for these two years showed the same guiding group as during the earlier years of the 1970s, with Sir Ronald Gould as President, Lionel Elvin, Richard Hoggart, Dame Margaret Miles and politicians from the three principal parties as Vice-Presidents and teachers including John Colclough on the Management Committee. There was a staff of four at the London Office in Russell Square, with Margaret Quass as Director. There were also staffed offices in Wales and Scotland. The Annual Report for 1977-1978 posed the question 'Is CEWC really necessary?', explaining that in a decentralised education system like Britain, the Secretary of State did not issue 'national edicts' as other countries could do in relation to the 1974 UNESCO Recommendations on EIU. 'The most she can do is to recommend. CEWC exists to implement and supplement these recommendations and promote new ideas and stimulate new thinking'.¹ The Report published a 'Message to the Annual Conference' from the Secretary of State, welcoming the choice of workshops on race and community service issues and adding ideas about Britain's mature democracy where 'political education has recently been in the news'. This was the thirty-fifth Annual Conference of CEWC on the topic of 'Youth and Community'.

In the Report, the Director also drew readers' attention to the 'interdependence' paragraph in the Government's Green Paper of the previous year, celebrating this as evidence for the long-term need for an organisation like CEWC:

I dare to hope that with so much talk about education for a multicultural society and teaching (or how not to teach) politics, the government may at last come to appreciate that CEWC, with its

breadth of vision, wealth of experience, acknowledged integrity, proven flexibility and grass-roots membership, is good value for very little money.²

The general sentiment evident here is of an organisation trying to work as closely as possible to DES positions for learning about contemporary issues. As far as connections with other networks and organisations went, CEWC's invited range of speakers at the January 1978 Annual Conference included people involved in social change and welfare within the UK like the Director of Kent Social Services and former Deputy Director of Oxfam, Nicholas Stacey, and the founder of Voluntary Service Overseas and Community Service Volunteers, Alec Dickson. There was also a workshop on 'Development' led by Margot Brown from Oxfam's Archway Development Education Centre (ADEC) in north London. Other events for students included London Sixth Form Conferences on 'The United Nations and Development' and 'The Politics of the Media' and a Fourth and Fifth Year Conference on 'Japan: The Asian Phoenix' with, among other speakers, Richard Tames from SOAS. The Report also drew attention to the revised version of the World Studies Guide to learning resources, funded by a grant from the ODM and commended by both Derek Heater and Robin Richardson.

CEWC's Annual Report for 1978-1979 included a new section on 'Co-operation with Other Organisations'. This recognised CEWC's role as 'the catalyst that causes the ripple of activity' by way of warning that other organisations could visibly take over ground which had long been covered by CEWC itself, even though relations with CWDE, the UNA and others were described as 'excellent'.³ A large section of the report was devoted to the background paper on 'International Education: - Time to take stock' which preceded the July 1978 meeting at the House of Commons where the Secretary of State announced a DES grant for SCEIU (see below). The paper paid tribute to past and present Management Committee members who had played a significant role in creating

courses and syllabuses for World Studies in schools and teacher training colleges, notably Godfrey Brown and Ken Millins, who were both at the July meeting. However, recognising that 'international education is on the whole haphazard, piecemeal and un-coordinated' and that 'one Ministry seldom knows what the other is doing', the paper affirmed the CEWC position that 'international education cannot, and should not, be confined to one subject, but should infuse the whole curriculum'.⁴

SCEIU was brought to life, with DES support. This was the culmination of a series of meetings to decide what more was necessary and why, to give strength and clarity to the field for international understanding. Michael Storm, ILEA's Geography Inspector and also a member of the Management Council of CWDE, has described the creation of SCEIU as an outcome of anxiety that 'one unintended result of the so-called "great debate" might be a reduction in the international dimension of the curriculum'.⁵ This had led a number of educators centred around the School of Oriental and African Studies in the University of London and their contacts to meet with the view of setting up a 'single body that could articulate and argue the claims for this international dimension, in conjunction with and on behalf of the multifarious groups and organisations concerned with specific aspects of international education'.⁶

What is of interest here is the extent to which this new body was seen as supporting or running parallel with other support networks like the Centre for World Development Education and the World Studies Project. The transition from the VCOAD network which had been supported by the ODM and managed by the NGOs to the more Government-directed CWDE has been covered in Chapter Seven. During this phase of growth in the new SCEIU network, Derek Walker and CWDE continued to play a liaising role and acting as a host venue for conferences. There is however far more extant evidence that Robin Richardson was attempting to take a more collaborative stance from his base at the World Studies Project than Walker was actively seeking to do. As during its

emergence during the 1960s to 1970s, there was always a possibility of professionals and members of the public seeing 'development awareness' and 'development education' activities as coming from the NGO development sector in a self contained way that did not reach out well to embrace the positions of other groupings.

Robin Richardson corresponded with E. O'Connor at SOAS for the inaugural meetings of the group that envisaged the need for a Standing Conference on EIU. This was initially called 'The Child and the Wider World' group. In a letter of June 1977, Richardson had submitted to the group a paper of his own on 'some of the main controversies' in the field of development education, pointing out that 'the same controversies and tensions are of course present in education for international understanding'.⁷ In a letter at the same time to Richard Tames, another member of the group, Richardson underlined the difference between '(a) learning about foreign countries and cultures etc; and (b) learning about world society'.⁸ This letter also supported the viewpoint that 'centralised projects and agencies do not and cannot initiate change in schools', stressing that it was important both to see the need for better co-ordination between these agencies and recognise their limitations in relation to schools where change had to come from within.⁹ J. Callander from the Commonwealth Institute writing to O'Connor in the same month was clear that 'we must involve the DES in what we are seeking to do'.¹⁰ Storm, O'Connor, Richardson, Tames and others including James Henderson from the Institute of Education, Margaret Quass from CEWC and David Wright, one of the authors of the UNESCO/VCOAD 1974 report on *The Changing World in the Classroom*, sent a letter to the Secretary for State calling for a DES-supported enquiry into the field of international education 'in view of such recent developments as the publication of DES circular 9/76' and 'the establishment by the Ministry of Overseas Development of a Committee on Development Education'.¹¹ It is evident from the preliminary correspondence of the group that initiated the SCIEU that relations between 'world-minded education' and 'development education' and therefore 'between the Department

of Education and Science and the Ministry of Overseas Development' were an important part of this process.¹²

David and Jill Wright contributed an earlier paper of their own, entitled 'The Missing World Image', together with a handwritten note by David on defining EIU and whether 'The Child in the Wider World' was the best title for the group to work under.¹³ Their contribution added to the debate on why EIU seemed to have so little presence in discussions about the school curriculum. They referred to five hundred un-coordinated initiatives across the country, including the Norwich Third World Centre and that 'Oxfam's Education Department has been in the forefront of curriculum development' and how a plethora of names had emerged for these:

It would be difficult to find another country where so many exciting things are happening in this area of the curriculum. The focus of attention of the innovators varies, and so do the names they use. As well as 'Education for International Understanding' there is 'Multicultural Education', 'Development Education', 'Education for World Citizenship', 'World Studies'. But all are united in seeking to create a more realistic and concerned 'world view'. However, the majority of 'institutions', examination syllabuses for pupils, and courses for student-teachers and established teachers remain untouched and unmoved. Since the institutions rather than the individual initiatives have the power, the widespread interest in 'International Understanding' is not likely to result in any official recognition for its place in the core curriculum.¹⁴

The use of a term like 'core curriculum' is significant here in the view of the educators preparing the report as there was no effective understanding within the profession at this time that there was such a thing as a core curriculum. The statement helps to clarify why the engaged educators saw it as important to try

and set up a permanent group to influence the DES in this area of learning, in order to avoid further confusion and thereby weaken the impact which external initiators could have in schools.

Richardson's own notes from the September 1977 meeting of the group at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) show a range of opinion over how EIU practitioners should relate to development education. There were also two HMIs at this meeting: W. Allen and D. Hilton. Points covered included a belief that 'dev ed has broadened out into all the fields we are interested in', that they were 'not clear what ODM's motives are' and that CWDE 'would be part of it [a standing conference on international education] but only a part'. It was seen to be important that the 'DES mustn't be allowed to see ODM as answer – "we must scupper that one"' and that the new body would make approaches to the DES and act as a forum of information to teachers, Local Education Authorities, professional associations and publishers.¹⁵ There could be a sense here of competition against a rising tide of ODM supported development education initiatives from those educators who could see this as a sub-set of a wider movement, because without such a co-ordinating initiative the two fields risked becoming further divided. This is why it is significant that the role of CWDE, as the visible coordinating body for development education, should be involved but not with a central role. In other words, the instigators of SCEIU were keen to identify a position for DE within their greater scheme for EIU.

In additional notes from this meeting at SOAS, Richardson recorded Quass from CEWC asking whether the group was aiming at 'educating for society as it is, or for a new society?' as she wanted 'to avoid any kind of politicising'. This prompted a rather scornful reply from Henderson, speaking for the Institute of Education and World Studies Project: 'I would totally disagree with you – this is the last spluttering gasp of nineteenth century liberalism'.¹⁶ This reveals the force of differing positions within the planning group and the shades of political perspectives held at the time. From such divergences it was difficult for a

unifying co-ordinating body for a movement to emerge because the 'movement' itself had such different values in relation to how and what children should be learning about their world. Any standing conference would therefore have to have represented some form of compromise between individuals and the groups they were involved with.

At the next planning meeting of the 'Child in the Wider World' group, in November 1977, it was agreed that 'the title Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding was appropriate' and that this would be most effective if given 'legitimacy' by the DES, without it becoming 'the "creature" of government' as it would want to act as 'a pressure group to influence thinking about the curriculum'. There were four HMIs at this meeting: W. Allen, E. Bolton, D. Hilton and J. Slater.¹⁷ The main outcome from this meeting was the sending of a formal request to the Secretary of State to support the establishment of SCEIU. This drew evidence from recent ODM initiatives on development education and highlighted the need for joint DES/ODM working. The letter ended by affirming the group's belief that 'despite successes and good intentions, "education for international understanding" is neither widely established nor widely encouraged in our schools' so it was in need of stronger support, especially in light of the sentiments for global learning which had been expressed in paragraph 1.12 of the Green Paper. The letter was signed by all the previously mentioned educators, also Ken Millins, the Director of Edge Hill College of Higher Education and, significantly for the group's liaison with development educators, by Derek Walker, the Director of CWDE. It also had attached a request for a 'pump priming budget' of £2,500 per year to cover an initial two year period of SCIEU's activities.¹⁸

At the group's fifth meeting at SOAS in February 1978, concern was expressed that no reply had been received from the Secretary of State. James Henderson had followed this up by telephone and been promised a reply.¹⁹ In March, J. Tomlinson, the Parliamentary Under Secretary at the ODM, wrote to O'Connor

to provide an update on progress with the Advisory Committee's report and affirm that 'ODM's particular role is not with the formal system except as a catalyst'.²⁰ Robin Richardson continued to contribute to discussion of definitions of EIU with papers on 'Twenty Questions', 'Some Problems of Terminology' and 'Some notes on a field'. Richardson's perspective at this time was that EIU had disadvantages in seeming to be about 'countries other than one's own' and that 'understanding' could undervalue learning about values in seeming to have a 'do-gooding, even slightly cranky, ring about it – it doesn't sound academically respectable'. However, EIU had the advantage of UNESCO legitimacy whereas development education was 'a puzzling and even ugly phrase to someone hearing it for the first time'. DE, when explained, seemed primarily 'to do with education about the third world, not the world as a whole' and was more concerned with economics than 'culture, politics, history, religion, etc.'. ²¹

At the sixth meeting of the group now called the 'Working Group on Education for International Understanding', held at SOAS in May 1978, a number of threads were brought together. The HMI, W. Allen, affirmed that restructuring had slowed a response from the DES, while at the same time the ODM initiative with its Advisory Committee had made it clear 'that a greater degree of coordination in the field of Education for International Understanding and of Development Education was necessary'. The ODM's Advisory Committee Report was noted, as were a number of regional initiatives for development education. Richardson also introduced the setting up of a World Studies Teacher Education Group to implement the UNESCO Recommendation. Walker described CWDE Action Groups.²² This meeting shows both the strength and breadth of the working group and its range of experience and interests. It resulted in the acceptance in July 1978 by the Secretary of State of the grant requested by the Working Group. This was the outcome of a meeting organised by CEWC where the Secretary of State 'welcomed the proposal to establish a Standing Conference and announced that a small seed-corn grant of £5,000 would be made available to enable such a conference to be established'. ²³

At the meeting in Committee Room 14 of the House of Commons, Shirley Williams spoke about the 'time to break away from the image still presented in English school textbooks, of Britain in the last phase of imperialism, and to recognise that it was now a multiracial society'. She then announced the Government grant for SCEIU to 'help co-ordinate and rationalise' the flow of educational ideas.²⁴ Among subsequent speakers were Michael Storm on 'Development and Environmental Studies', Robin Richardson on 'World Studies' and Dame Margaret Miles, speaking as a Vice-President of CEWC and for the ODM's Advisory Committee on Development Education. Therefore, the two hundred participants at this event included many of the key people in the intersecting movements for world-minded education and development education.

From this date, SCEIU became an operational identity in the field, with O'Connor and the SOAS base at its core. A 'Provisional Executive Committee' of O'Connor, Millins and Stone met with DES officials in September to discuss working arrangements for SCEIU, including relations with the DES who were 'ready to engage in occasional informal discussions with the Standing Conference'. Schools Council subject committees were to be approached to discuss 'the present provision in schools' for EIU. Seeking financial support from the ODM was to be deferred to the end of the initial DES grant, but this should not 'inhibit the development of informal relations with ODM'.²⁵ In subsequent meetings of the Standing Conference, planning was started for an inaugural conference to be held in 1979, opened by the Secretary of State and presided over by SCEIU's newly appointed President, Richard Hoggart. After being postponed because of the change of government after the May General Election, this was eventually held at the Commonwealth Institute in June 1979.

In summary, 1978 was a key year for the emergence of development education as a strand within international understanding. At least, this would have been the

view of the educators who acted to set up SCEIU and discussed at some length how this related to development education. Although there were a number of people and organisations who could act as liaisons between the two strands, notably the World Studies Project and CWDE, there is a sense that the strands had different drivers. SCEIU was largely the creation of professionals within the education system, particularly from institutes involved in teacher education like SOAS, the Institute of Education and Edge Hill College. It also sought to operate in close proximity to the DES, through the involvement of HMIs in its meetings and in seeking financial support from the Secretary of State. Therefore, although other global education organisations like CEWC and CWDE were involved, the primary thrust of SCEIU was from inside the profession looking out on the current state of the world rather than from those people and organisations more directly concerned to involve young people in putting the world to rights. This analysis helps to explain why the activities of the ODM in relation to development education were of such continuing interest to the SCEIU group as they worked to establish an educationally influential Standing Conference.

The ODM's Advisory Committee and Development Education Fund

The 'Report and Recommendations by Working Party of the Advisory Committee on Development Education' was published in July 1978 as a Green Paper.²⁶ It was prefaced with a letter from the Chair of the Working Party to the Minister for Overseas Development affirming the purpose of the Report: 'to advise you on a UK policy and strategy for development education, review the operations of the development education fund, and consider the effective use of resources'.²⁷ The main sections of the Report covered the formal and informal systems, the media, co-ordination and a plan for action. The attached appendices listed grants already made by the Development Education Fund, organisations contacted and a comparative study from the Netherlands.

The initial 'scope for action' in the Report was premised on the need for the British public to learn more about international change 'and its relevance to their own lives', otherwise change could not be effective. This section also referred to the recent DES statement on living in an interdependent world (from the 1977 Green Paper) and a forthcoming survey of public attitudes to overseas development. A link was made between this and prejudiced attitudes towards domestic ethnic minorities 'which suggests that successful development education has a contribution to make to both'.²⁸ The conclusion of the Working Party was that development education should not be seen as 'a centrally controlled propaganda exercise' but rather as one of public participation in an educational process:

Lobbying, belonging to groups, working overseas, fund-raising are important, but likely to remain minority activities. People need to be shown that they are indeed already involved in world development at work, as consumers, in schools and in the community at large.²⁹

This reads in retrospect as an honest but very idealistic approach to the possibilities for development education. Subsequent changes of government and the ending of the DE fund meant that the 'movement' was forced to revert back to the minority support hinted at in this quotation, with the larger development NGOs taking over the ODM's role as funder of smaller local projects for development education. However, at the time of submitting the Report, in what could be seen as a relatively optimistic calm climate in mid-1978 before the social and economic storms of the 'winter of discontent', more public awareness raising of development concerns certainly seemed possible.

With reference to possibilities in the formal sector, the Report supported the cross-curriculum view of development education rather than being seen as 'a subject in its own right'. It should be 'permeating and influencing the whole curriculum'.³⁰ This position was affirmed with reference to the Wrights' 'vicious

circle' diagram and additional evidence from the 1977 CWDE Conference on development education (for both, see Chapter Seven). The conclusion was that, although addressed to the ODM it was vital that the DES and the Scottish, Welsh and Northern Ireland Offices should be involved in development education.³¹ The DES was being lobbied at this time to give financial support to a strong national structure represented by SCEIU rather than to localised projects, so although always an aspiration from the DE lobby this never became a practical reality. To commit support to development education, as envisioned and practised by educational activists like Og Thomas from Oxfam, would have meant a radical change from the long British tradition of disinterested support for movements advocating social and educational change. However, the Minister for Overseas Development was in a position to accept the Report, even though the official position of the ODM was on non-engagement in domestic formal education.

From the existing field, it was seen to be important to co-ordinate efforts, since 'about seventy organisations seem to be already engaged on development education in some form, plus over 3,000 local groups'.³² These were listed as groups in Appendix A, including fund raisers, action groups, church movements, volunteer groups, international organisations, information centres and co-ordinating bodies. It was seen as desirable for Government to make a stronger commitment to aiding co-ordination between disparate groups, while recognising that this commitment was in itself very recent, since 'Christmas 1976' and the setting up of the DE Fund. Where in the past government efforts had often been 'eclipsed by the voluntary agencies in both quality and quantity', it was time for a re-think. This was partly because development education should not be left to the fund-raising agencies on account of their 'charity image'.³³ The problem was to find a way of co-ordinating 'the national effort on development education' without becoming a 'strait-jacket' that would hinder the 'enthusiasm and independence of the voluntary agencies'.³⁴ The solution was to review the transition from VCOAD to CWDE as co-ordinating mechanisms, recognising that

the latter did not have the guiding and financing support from the voluntary agencies which the former had had (see Chapter Seven). What would be needed for the future could be an expanded and strengthened CWDE acting in co-operation with the ACDE or other combinations as in the Swedish model of Government Information Services. This was directly linked with a recommendation to expand the scale of the DE Fund, from £150,000 per annum to £250,000 in the immediate future.³⁵ The consequent 'Plan of Action' outlined a programme for growth in Government support for development education up to 1984, five years forward from the Report.³⁶ The ACDE Report on Development Education was presented in 1978 which was fully accepted by the Labour Government, promising an era of largely increased central Government funding for local development education initiatives, including those run by NGOs.

By sitting on the ACDE, some experts from the NGO development education sector had a role in encouraging Government support for development education and demonstrating processes to achieve this. Seen in another way, they could not have exerted a great influence on the process as they were so few in number compared with the experts from other fields who had been invited onto the Working Party. Og Thomas was in effect the only NGO development education practitioner in the Group of fifteen, allowing for Mildred Neville representing CIIR who was a fellow member with Oxfam of the VCOAD network but not strictly speaking a development NGO with overseas aid programmes. Derek Walker from VCOAD was not on the group and so the weighting was effectively more towards educators than developers, if such a distinction holds validity. This can help to explain why the section on the fund-raising agencies was written with expression of reservations and why a lot of faith was apparently put on a strong central body to act as co-ordinator of initiatives, likely at the time to have been a re-vamped model of CWDE. Meanwhile, in other parts of the country, locally based Development Education Centres were beginning to see the need for a national association to strengthen their identity and influence.

This emerged as NACEC and eventually, from 1993, the Development Education Association (DEA). There were no members of local DEC's on the Advisory Committee's Working Group. This also makes the role of the Group seem quite centrist in envisaging a future role for ODM-sponsored development education as a disburser of funds to local projects rather than the kind of 'grass-roots movement' which DEC-based people envisaged at the time.

The DES was still not actively involved in the ACDE, relying on its cohort of NGOs that included CEWC and its UNESCO commitments. This divergence was highlighted by the Overseas Development Minister, Judith Hart, announcing the expansion of the Development Education Fund in the same month that the Education Minister, Shirley Williams, had announced the setting up of SCEIU (see above). The connection or distance between these two strands coming into public view and receiving government funding in the same month in 1978 has been captured in a report from O. J. Dunlop from Jordanhill College in Glasgow, justifying one of the first development education grants from the ODM spent on the Jordanhill Project in International Understanding:

July 1978, to those concerned about the furtherance of Education for International Understanding and Development Education, is a month to which much significance can be attached... During the latter part of July 1978, two Government Ministers announced their intention to give considerable support to these areas of education... it is difficult not to accept the impression that what has been simmering gently – and somewhat inconspicuously – in the education for international understanding pot since the publication of the 1974 UNESCO Recommendation is about to be brought to the boil.³⁷

These decisions caused a certain amount of internal re-orientation for the Ministries, at least as far as ODM personnel were concerned. Sir Peter Preston,

the Permanent Secretary wrote to the Minister, Judith Hart about her 'decision about Development Education' which was causing Ministry officials 'to work out a solution as to where to put it'. This appears to have caused some upset to the Head of the ODM Information Department who was seeking a personal meeting with Mrs Hart.³⁸ Development Education was seen as part of the ODM's 'information' work, not 'education' as such because the Education Department dealt with education projects overseas. This distinction seems important for analysing the interplay, or lack of it, between development awareness, development information and development education.

The World Studies Project's 'The School and the Wider World'

'The School and the Wider World' was the title of a major in-service project organised by the World Studies Project for UNESCO in 1978. The most important events of the project were a series of two to three day conferences aiming to explore EIU with a specific focus on teacher education. Two conferences were held in January, at Charney Manor in Oxfordshire on in-service courses and in Marlow in Buckinghamshire on international schools. Three more conferences were held in April, at Fircroft College in Birmingham on social education, at Westhill College, also in Birmingham, on EIU in general and at Edge Hill College in Lancashire on the initial education of teachers. This led to the creation of the World Studies Teacher Education Network, as reported by Robin Richardson to the SCEIU working group (see above). The key to placing these events in the wider context of forces for global learning which were accumulating during the year is in their emphasis on the preparation of teachers for global learning, as 'in spite of the major problems of reorganisation currently faced by colleges, new and experimental courses are being developed in specific disciplines, in inter-disciplinary studies and in ways which, on occasions, permeate the total ethos of an institution'.³⁹

Overlaps between the World Studies Project and Development Education can be seen in the strong participation of Christian Aid and Oxfam Education staff at the Charney Manor event. Also the Fircroft College event was co-sponsored by the Development Education Centre in Birmingham and Christian Aid and Oxfam both co-sponsored the event at Westhill College. The Project sought funding from the ODM's Development Education Fund to publish the exercises and activities tested during these conferences as the 1979 handbook *Debate and Decision*.

The Charney Manor conference, held on 6-8 January 1978, was sub-titled as 'What kinds of in-service course do we arrange?' This drew inspiration from the Ohio-based Institute for the Development of Educational Activities (I/D/E/A), especially as a fruitful source for new learning activities for relating personal to global learning. Andrew Hutchinson from Christian Aid was part of the planning team for the conference and Scott Sinclair from Birmingham DEC presented a case study on study visits to developing countries. Other participants from development education organisations included Judith Holland from Christian Aid, Margot Brown and Pete Davis from Oxfam, Brian Wren from Third World First, Phyllis Starkey from the World Development Movement and Barbara Bond, who had previously worked with Antipoverty. In total the participants represented a coming together of educators from EIU, development education, other educational projects like the Minority Rights Group and I/D/E/A. There were relatively few people from within the formal sector as the main focus of the event was sharing of ideas between external providers of in-service courses.⁴⁰

The Westhill College conference, entitled 'The School in a World of Change' was planned by, among others, Margot Brown, Judith Holland and Andrew Hutchinson. Most of the participants at this event were secondary school teachers concerned with humanities and social studies.⁴¹ In the post-conference evaluation, Margot Brown recalled the impact of playing the Bafa Bafa simulation game. She also recognised the influence of this conference on a

subsequent one for primary teachers she organised in London with Marion Flood (another co-organiser, from the Centre for Social Education). Brown acknowledged that it was difficult to get teachers to come to full weekend events of this nature.⁴²

One example of this is from John Bray and Sylvia Usher, who were both teachers at a school in North Humberside. Sylvia wrote to Richardson after the conference to express thanks and describe how:

We have followed up the conference in a way which I had not envisaged at the final session: namely trying to persuade our headmaster to adopt more informal methods at a school staff conference for curriculum review. I'm not sure how far we shall get, but he has read all our conference papers far more carefully than I had expected!⁴³

She also took out a subscription to *New Era* because other colleagues on the staff would be interested. In such ways an inspiring conference influenced change from within school structures rather than through external organisations, which was clearly the vision of the World Studies Project. Richardson's web diagram on the following page maps direct and indirect routes to wider learning within secondary school structures.⁴⁴

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Fig. 4: Robin Richardson's map for World Studies in secondary schools (reduced from original hand-drawn diagram in Richardson's papers).

The definitive output from the 1978 World Studies Project conferences was the publication of *Debate and Decision* the following year. An article on the Westhill Conference was also published in *New Era* that year. It is instructive to compare the two handbooks *Learning for Change in World Society: Reflections, Activities and Resources* and *Debate and Decision*. The former was published in 1976 as an extended and reworked version of the 1974 *Towards Tomorrow: Some notes on teaching and learning about contemporary world affairs*. *Learning for Change* is a rich source of interactive learning ideas, and so has been celebrated as a handbook by NGO and DEC practitioners for running teacher courses and sessions in schools. *Debate and Decision* is more of a guide to action for change from within schools. It shows a greater focus of planning and structures. Where the earlier guide was typified by a build up of poems, statistics, cartoons and similar inputs to aid learning about global issues, the later book developed a small number of activities expressly to explore capacities for change within schools, like the 'Advocating and evaluating change' simulation where school teams meet inspection teams.⁴⁵

It is also useful to compare these handbooks with the earliest teachers' handbooks produced by Birmingham DEC: *Learning About Africa – Dilemmas, Approaches, Resources* in 1979 and *Birmingham & the Wider World* in 1980. These were clearly influenced in style and format by the earlier World Studies Project publications and could be described as the first development education publications for teachers, along with Oxfam's *The Third World in Initial Teacher Training* in 1979, to which Richardson contributed. This is to make a distinction between resources focusing on course structures and teaching methods like these and resources about the developing world for pupil use which the development NGOs had been producing since the mid-1960s. The earliest Birmingham DEC handbooks are records of overseas study visits by Birmingham teachers, to Ghana for the 1979 resource and to Ghana, Colombia and India for the second one, subtitled as 'a report on an in-service course'. This

is another concrete example of the influence of Richardson's ideas and World Studies Project methodology on the thinking and practice of educators working to establish the credibility of development education with teachers.

Given that many of the organisers and participants in the World Studies Project's 1978 series of conferences went on to develop careers in global / development education, the impact of the World Studies Project on the emerging field of development education – and particularly through the 1978 events – was a very influential one. Both Margot Brown and Andrew Hutchinson have regarded the impact of Charney Manor as a seminal event in the history of development education.⁴⁶ Through continuing involvement with the SCEIU group of teacher educators, the Project's Director managed to bring together varying currents in the wider movement and provide an on-going analysis of how they inter-related. This contrasted with the position of others who complained of being 'tired of being co-ordinated'. This was from Og Thomas, speaking as Oxfam's Education Director at the SCEIU inaugural event held at the Commonwealth Institute in June 1979.⁴⁷ There could be seen here a contrast between Oxfam's regional education field staff like Margot Brown and Scott Sinclair eager to collaborate with others in World Studies Project initiatives and their manager at Oxfam, who was playing a more national role in the ODM's Advisory Committee on Development Education. This was a stream that came to confluence – or at least flowed along a parallel channel to other currents being made by SCEIU, ACDE, Oxfam and the rest of the development NGO sector – during the significant year of 1978.

An interesting question to ask in retrospect about this seeming Government generosity towards SCEIU and the Development Education Fund is why funding should have become available for international understanding and development education during this year of the Callaghan Government which has been marked in history as a time of the International Monetary Fund crisis loan and the Winter of Discontent. There are at least three possible responses to this question. One

is that the summer of 1978 came between Denis Healey's successful negotiation of the IMF loan in 1977 and Callaghan's difficulties with the winter crisis he initially found hard to see in 1978-1979. Secondly, the two Ministers involved had opportunities to cement causes they had long stood for: we have already seen both the commitment of Shirley Williams to CEWC and EIU and of Judith Hart to Overseas Development.⁴⁸ As a protégée of Harold Wilson, Hart may well have felt that she was helping to accomplish one of the key areas of innovation which he had claimed to value when he had left office two years previously.⁴⁹ Thirdly, the coming together of both DES and ODM support for this area of learning, albeit through different and disconnected channels, could mark a recognition of the end of the old imperial mentality and the heralding of a new sense of multicultural British society, as is certainly evident in Williams' speeches at this time and in her White Paper statement of the previous year. This could also be a reflection of the need to keep the support of the Liberal Party in the climate of minority government, with conscious internationalism being a cause likely to be well viewed by Liberal Party members.⁵⁰

Oxfam education initiatives

During 1978 much of Oxfam's campaigning and awareness raising activity in the UK was taken up with the 'Move against Poverty' initiative, as reflected in many column inches of *Oxfam News* devoted to this through the course of the year. The Education Department produced three 'MAP Packs' to aid the involvement of young people and schools in the campaign. The packs contained copies of 'Jigsaw' magazine-format booklets expressly designed for school use.⁵¹

As well as this regular central materials production role of the Education Department, Oxfam was engaged in making wider policy decisions on its education work in the UK. The education policy paper accepted by Council in June 1978 reaffirmed the four areas of educational work from the confidential 1976 memo (see Chapter Seven), strengthening the role of Development

Education Centres in this. It had by now become stated policy to 'support and encourage the spread of Development Education Centres'. The Education Officers based regionally in these centres were seen as having a changing role, with a minimum of direct school servicing in order to give priority to 'pioneering schemes as a contribution to the theory and practice of Development Education in the UK' because 'curriculum development (is)... an essential component of any Development Education strategy'. As a consequence of this, regional staff should continue to carry the bulk of direct school servicing. Also, increasing funds were being attracted from outside Oxfam for curriculum development type projects, which might therefore in some cases be better moved outside Oxfam and put in the hands of other organisations. Materials should also become increasingly self-financing, particularly as the growth of Development Education Centres increased outreach capacity to teachers. What emerges from this paper is a picture of growing central and local development education activity supported centrally by Og Thomas and Oxfam's Education Department.

A summary paper on work since 1974 attached to a 1978 policy paper for Council recognised that the increasing professionalism of the Department's work could risk alienating other Oxfam staff so a member of staff was working directly on giving them support. ODM financial support for Development Education was welcomed because Oxfam alone would not be able to fund this, certainly not to the extent of providing a Development Education adviser for every LEA. Thomas concluded by stating that the past three years had been the 'most productive' in his twelve year acquaintance with Oxfam.

Support for Oxfam's Development Education Centres was given to readers of *Oxfam News* through a series of articles during 1977-1978. Under the heading 'Ghana teaching aid for teachers', an article featured Scott Sinclair, Oxfam's Education Organiser in Birmingham, organising a study visit to Ghana for Birmingham teachers, as part of a learning process which 'was not simply learning about Ghana' but equally importantly 'what we learn about ourselves,

our own society and our understanding of other people'.⁵² In May, the opening of the Archway Centre in North London was celebrated. The Centre was described by Margot Brown, Oxfam's Education Organiser, as being 'set up in a hurry' on account of a 'sudden surprise grant' from the ODM. Its purpose was to 'advise teachers of development studies on teaching methods' and to help provide them with resources.⁵³ Brown described the support from the local community there had been to paint and help stock the Centre with resources. This meant that it could be seen as a community resource relating to 'the whole world, not just the developing world'. The 'Two-way development in Archway Road' in the title of this article referred specifically to involvement of the local immigrant community 'so that 'development' can really work two ways'.

This was followed by an article in the June-July issue of *Oxfam News*, asking for volunteers to 'help our Education Department' by helping to run 'Oxfam Education Centres' by giving talks in schools or in many other ways, as 'the idea takes shape in different ways in different places'. Sixth-formers helping to run a 'Development Centre' in London was given as one example of this. The two captioned photographs showed a 'Development Education centre'.⁵⁴ Thus, in the early days of Oxfam supported DEC's, a possible confusion of terminology could be seen – whether these were Oxfam Education Centres, or Development Centres or Development Education Centres.

In summary, the position of Oxfam and its Education Department in relation to the changing networks for SCEIU and the ACDE was one of steady growth from inside. This applies both to the campaigning emphasis of Move against Poverty and to central controls over regional Education Advisers setting up Development Education Centres. Although Thomas as Oxfam's Head of Education was one of the members of the ODM's Advisory Committee, it would be hard to assess that Oxfam was the key influence on the way development education was growing during this year. Or at least Oxfam Education Advisers regionally working in collaboration with the World Studies Project could be seen as the forward

movement, with Oxfam House more of a restraining influence because at all times operating education programmes from within a development NGO imposed restrictions on what could be achieved in relation to UK state education systems.

Learning locally: The Coombe Lodge conference

One point of evidence from 1978 that the diverse strands in this movement did meet to communicate and share positions was a conference on 'Establishing International Understanding through Further Education' held at the Further Education Staff College at Coombe Lodge near Bristol in April. Conference contributors included W. Allen from the DES, Peter Broderick, Head of the Information Department at the ODM, J. Callander, Chief Education Officer at the Commonwealth Institute, E. O'Connor, Organiser of Extramural Studies at SOAS, Robin Richardson, Director of the World Studies Project and Derek Walker, Director of CWDE. The Foreword to the Report covers a wide range of positions from international understanding, community relations and the meaning of development education:

The development education lobby is, however, becoming very strong. Although the words 'development education' are still not used or understood in many schools and colleges, I think that within a year or two that will change.⁵⁵

Allen went on to relate this weaning of students 'away from their locality... to realise that they are part of an international set-up' by referring to other pressures from political education, environmental education, community education 'and many things of this nature' to be established in schools and colleges.⁵⁶ He then described many sources of support for teachers in this process, including the 'humanitarian' organisations where 'the "starving child" image of a few years back... is being replaced by more educational activities'.

Here he named Oxfam, Save the Children and Christian Aid. Under the 'development education lobby' he named 'the major world studies organisations such as the World Studies Project, the Council for Education in World Citizenship and the Centre for World Development Education'.⁵⁷ As these were organisations with very different educational histories and perspectives, it is interesting to hear them all being labelled at this time as part of a lobby for greater development education in schools – which at the very least helps to highlight that there was a confusion in terminologies and aims. Allen saw that although the DES distributed an annual directory on 'International Understanding' most 'things were happening' at the ODM. This meant that better co-ordination was necessary, so that with reference to the forthcoming DES support for SCEIU, he said:

Whether such a Conference or something like the Centre for World Development Education produces the co-ordination remains to be seen; but the need remains.⁵⁸

This capacity to see development education as part of or even identical to international understanding was broadened but not challenged in the presentations by Broderick and Richardson. Broderick talked about the need for 'development education for international understanding' as receiving impetus from ODM support for the ACDE 'to help the Government decide where it ought to be going in this area', for CWDE and the DE Fund.⁵⁹ Richardson posed 'Twenty Questions' as a checklist of the main aims of EIU and social and political education more generally. These ranged across analysis, information and participation and provided tables and quotations related to three strands for 'development education', 'environmental education' and 'education for a global community'. He also outlined UNESCO and World Studies approaches, emphasising the important role of the teacher.⁶⁰ It could therefore be said that all three of these contributors spoke from where they were based, in the DES, the ODM and the WSP perspective, but all sought to achieve a consensus view

in a middle group where more global learning in schools was agreed to be important – under whatever operational term and co-ordinating body. This seems to crystallise where debates had reached by 1978. It is also interesting to note that in a subsequent letter from Broderick to Richardson, after the ODM had accepted more responsibility for development education and started to produce its own learning materials, he referred to 'Having obtained approval for ODM to enter the development education arena as a participant in its own right, we now have some internal debate on how to interpret "balance" in materials'.⁶¹ This brings out the underlying and often submerged issue in debates between the NGO sector and Government Ministries: that of perceived politicisation or bias in learning materials and activities.

The Coombe Lodge Conference is an example of regional learning from the West Country of England. Many teachers from Bristol schools became active in this movement during the 1980s, including Simon Fisher and James Wetz, and Robin Richardson had himself taught in Bristol before directing the World Studies Project. There is little evidence of learning initiatives in more rural areas of Devon and Cornwall. The heartlands for innovation of the movement were definitely in urban areas, particularly in London and the growing influence of the Development Education Centre in Birmingham.

Conclusions on connecting strands in 1978

To call development education in England up to 1978 a rising 'movement' requires further examination of the extent to which the activists involved in it represented wider society, or could be seen to have been a visionary middle class white grouping, well placed through background and education to want to make an influence on government and public attitudes to identify failings and act to bring about improvements. We have seen in the previous chapters how diverse a movement this was in terms of where individuals and organisations

were coming from and how this can be said to have weakened the potential influence it could have had on learning in schools.

A snapshot of the backgrounds and common aspirations of activists in the movement can be gained from biographical 'timelines' produced by participants in the World Studies Project's Charney Manor Conference in January 1978 (see above). These were part of an introductory activity and reveal a wide range of direct overseas experience, including 'Travel – Europe, USA, USSR, China talking with people from other lands' and 'Travel: not such much to broaden the mind but rather to reveal that there was a mind which needed broadening'. Specific Third World working experience in this group ranged from 'Tanzania (V.S.O.)' to 'Worked in Algeria. Met Third World at first hand. Introduced to anarchism and Marxism'. Influences nearer home showed involvement with projects like the Pestalozzi International Children's Village, 'developing contacts with Asian communities in Manchester, Birmingham, etc.' and 'writing for children / teachers about history – British, Indian, Chinese... Understanding plural society in Britain – trying to learn something about minority ethnic groups'. Others reflected on being at private or religious schools, described by one participant as 'wasted years', or being influenced by 'religious minded parents – concerned middle-class background' or taking part in a Student Christian Movement Conference on World Development. One participant was a 'revolting student' in 1968 and 'opposed Vietnam war'. As regards present occupations and aspirations for the future, one participant was involved in 'putting teachers in touch with each other and with outside agencies', another recorded a 'change of direction – out of conventional teaching & into the world of reflection & trying to influence teachers'. Another saw 'theological imperatives' for 'development education' and 'liberation' partly achieved through personal participation in the Justice and Peace Commission and Third World First, Christian Aid, Oxfam and VCOAD conferences. Someone else wanted to 'stop and look at the sunrise', whereas another had sought to 'get involved in the politics of the Labour Party', having previously 'thought of working in Third World', then decided 'our role is to

work for change in UK' via 'join World Development Movement' and 'Attempt to proselytise population of Cambridge'. Yet another was currently learning Sanskrit and contributing to initial teacher training and in-service courses in religious and multicultural education. Someone recorded a 'confusion of conflicting aims + objectives' as a Teachers' Centre Warden, showing how the World Studies Project helped as it 'focuses efforts onto one outstanding priority'.⁶²

This sample of World Studies / Development Education activists highlights middle class, even privileged, backgrounds of teachers, teacher trainers and NGO support teachers with a capacity for self reflection and career planning for change in social welfare and international awareness. This grouping was generally regarded as left or liberal in its political tendencies. The sample also highlights the religious formation and beliefs of many of this group, which has not been mainstream to this study but was clearly important. Pete Davis, himself a participant at the Charney Manor Conference, has talked about his involvement with religious groups including Quakers and Methodists while working for Oxfam's Education Department.⁶³

In terms of inter-connections between parts of a general movement for global learning in schools, 1978 was a key year for developments between Education for International Understanding, World Studies and development education. The whole field could be seen as consisting of a small group of committed activists, many of whom were operating from bases outside the teaching profession. Dame Margaret Miles brought together her long-time support for CEWC with her chairing of the ACDE. Margaret Quass also represented CEWC on the SCEIU working group, as Derek Walker did eventually for CWDE. Robin Richardson worked with both SCEIU and Christian Aid and Oxfam Colleagues. Margot Brown, Pete Davis, Judith Holland, Andrew Hutchinson and Scott Sinclair linked World Studies conferences with their roles as education staff for development NGOs. To try and trace the web of personal interactions, discussions and

sharing of ideas about good learning practice during this year alone would be impossible, given that so many exchanges and interactions took place. Yet from these emerged a stronger movement for development education, with its roots in local teacher initiatives and its aspirations reaching up to influencing two Government Ministries to increase and improve teaching and learning in schools about development and developing countries.

The fulcrum of this movement for change was in learning theory and methodology. Where SCEIU, CWDE and the ACDE sought to create structures through which an educational field could grow in influence, the World Studies Project and NGO / DEC workers providing new understanding of what learning methods were most effective in classrooms and beyond. These methods ranged from the discussion activities and simulation games pioneered at the World Studies Project conferences to the practice of teacher study visits being tested by Birmingham DEC. By 1978 the movement for change in global learning can be more clearly seen at local and regional levels, through experimental learning where World Studies ideas fed through Development Education Centre projects than in national level meetings, whether held in SOAS, Oxfam House or the DES and ODM. What happened to this energetic and creative movement after 1978 is a different story of drastically reduced Government funding support and a struggle for survival at the grass-roots. From the long view backwards, 1978 can be assessed to have been a year of possibilities and consolidation for the form that development education was to take in England, with the large-scale involvement of NGO education staff making this different from development education in other countries in Europe and the world beyond.

References to Chapter Eight

¹ CEWC Annual Reports for 1976-1977 and 1977-1978, both page 3.

² CEWC Annual Report for 1977-1978, page 6.

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- ³ CEWC Annual Report 1978-1979, page 7.
- ⁴ Ibid., page 10.
- ⁵ Storm, M. (1979), page 237.
- ⁶ Ibid., pages 237-238.
- ⁷ Letter of 21 June 1977. For Richardson's correspondence, see note 36 in Chapter Seven.
- ⁸ Ibid.
- ⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰ Letter of 17 June 1977.
- ¹¹ Letter of 27 July 1977, page 1.
- ¹² Ibid., page 2.
- ¹³ Undated correspondence, page 1.
- ¹⁴ Wright, D. and Wright, J. (1973), page 1.
- ¹⁵ Meeting notes, 19 September 1977.
- ¹⁶ Undated notes on a meeting at SOAS, page 1.
- ¹⁷ Minutes of the third meeting of the 'Child in the Wider World' group held at SOAS on 4 November 1977.
- ¹⁸ Letter of 16 December 1977.
- ¹⁹ Minutes of the fifth meeting of the 'Child in the Wider World' group held at SOAS on 9 February 1978.
- ²⁰ Letter of 8 March 1978.
- ²¹ Richardson, R. 'Education for International Understanding – Some problems of terminology', undated paper c. March 1978, pages 1-2.
- ²² Minutes of the sixth meeting of the 'Working Group on Education for International Understanding' held at SOAS on 4 May 1978.
- ²³ Ibid., page 238.
- ²⁴ Ibid., page 12.
- ²⁵ Note of a meeting held at DES on 18 September 1978 to discuss matters relating to the establishment of a Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding.
- ²⁶ HMSO (1978).
- ²⁷ Ibid., page v.
- ²⁸ Ibid., page 2.

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- ²⁹ Ibid.
- ³⁰ Ibid., page 3.
- ³¹ Ibid., page 6.
- ³² Ibid., pages 17-18.
- ³³ Ibid., page 17.
- ³⁴ Ibid., page 18.
- ³⁵ Ibid., page 22.
- ³⁶ Ibid., pages 23-24.
- ³⁷ Hart papers at the Museum of Labour History, Manchester: Progress Report September 1978.
- ³⁸ Ibid. Letters of 12 September 1978.
- ³⁹ 'World Studies Teacher Education Group' statement after the Edge Hill Conference, April 1978.
- ⁴⁰ From the list of participants in Richardson, R., Flood, M. and Fisher, S. (1979), pages 47-48.
- ⁴¹ Ibid.
- ⁴² Westhill College 'Conference Evaluation' typed notes.
- ⁴³ Letter of 27 April 1978.
- ⁴⁴ Paper drawn on back of a printed paper dated 1975.
- ⁴⁵ Richardson, R., Flood, M. and Fisher, S. (1979), pages 30-31.
- ⁴⁶ Personal communications.
- ⁴⁷ Storm, M. (1979), page 239.
- ⁴⁸ In my correspondence with Williams' research secretary, the one thing she actively recalled was support for CEWC, not for development education, December 2007.
- ⁴⁹ According to John Cole, recorded especially as an achievement of his first term of office, as 'a separate Overseas Development Department, which reflected his own long-standing interest in the Third World', in Cole (1995), page 117.
- ⁵⁰ For David Steel's international interests and childhood years in Kenya, see Steel, D. (1989). For a Liberal Party statement that 'The people of this country need to know the realities and the consequences of famine, poverty and underdevelopment', see Beith, A. (1980), page 18.
- ⁵¹ P. Davis, personal conversation, 1 April 2008.
- ⁵² *Oxfam News*: December 1977-January 1978, page 10.

⁵³ *Oxfam News*: May 1978, page 4.

⁵⁴ *Oxfam News*: June-July 1978, page 9.

⁵⁵ Coombe Lodge Report, 11/6 for Study Conference 78/12, page 178.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, page 180.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, page 181.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, page 183.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pages 187-200.

⁶¹ Letter of 16 February 1979.

⁶² All quotations and references here are from Richardson's personal papers from Charney Manor Conference (names of participants have been omitted). For Richardson's papers, see note 36 in Chapter Seven.

⁶³ P. Davis, personal conversation, 4 December 2007.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

This thesis has traced the rise of development education in England during the 1960s and 1970s and the role that Oxfam's Education Department played in this. The denouement year chosen for the study was 1978 leading to a conclusion in 1979. In that year, the incoming Conservative Government cut the ODM Development Education Fund and reduced the importance of the Ministry itself to an Administration (ODA) within the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. During the 1980s and 1990s, local initiatives for development education in England survived through alternative sources of funding. These ranged from NGO support to the increasing availability of funding at European Union level. Through this process, Oxfam became a large-scale funder of DEC's which it had helped to set up during the more expansive times of the 1970s.

By 1993, the development education grassroots movement had gained enough strength to merge its National Association (NADEC) with the education departments of the large development NGOs through the founding of the Development Education Association (DEA). This body has achieved significant impact on government, especially through the restored development ministry, the Department for International Development (DfID) set up by the incoming Labour Government in 1997. During the first years of the new millennium, DfID was collaborating actively with the Department for Education and Skills and the DEA to produce guidance for all schools in England on the 'global dimension' to learning. This new energy can be described as either a success or failure for development education, depending on one's viewpoint. In positive terms, real impact for global awareness had come from the struggle to establish development education during the 1960s and 1970s. More negatively, a focus

on development processes and the specific problems and solutions for developing countries were in danger of disappearing on a more general tide of global awareness. It might be said that Og Thomas had foreseen at the Bergendal conference in Sweden in 1970 that development had social and political dimensions which required learners to see world processes at work and so develop new ways of thinking about the world and engaging with it.

From 1979 onwards I can claim to have a more direct and personal knowledge of the interwoven strands of this history, having been appointed then by Oxfam to work as an Education Adviser at Archway Development Education Centre in North London – and subsequently for Oxfam and other education and development NGOs in the north and west of England, in Wales and Scotland. My own view on the rise of development education has therefore been influenced in relation to grass-roots regional initiatives as well as in central interactions between NGO headquarters and Government Ministries.

Two broad movements in the field of global learning have been identified in this thesis. The first can be termed 'education for international understanding' (EIU). This had long roots in the earlier twentieth century through the League of Nations Union and the New Education Fellowship. The main aim of this focus on international understanding was to help raise the awareness of teachers and their pupils of global level politics and sources of conflict as a means to ensure the continuance of world peace. This aim runs in parallel with the emerging peace movement in England, although EIU also emphasised the cultures and customs of different nation states. It can therefore be seen as supporting a political-cultural dimension to school learning. From its foundation in 1939, the key non-government organisation advocating international understanding in England and the rest of the United Kingdom was the Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC). CEWC operated with financial support from successive Ministries of Education and often acted to support them in the recommendation of resources on EIU for schools. CEWC has therefore been an

organisation in the global learning networks that has been positioned close to the 'official mind' on attitudes to the wider world.

The second broad movement at the core of this research can be termed 'education for development' which was to become progressively styled as 'development education' from the mid-1970s onwards. Although some earlier twentieth century roots in colonial instruction can be traced, learning about development was largely a new educational trend that emerged in response to a new awareness of 'world development' and the needs of 'developing countries' after decolonisation and prompted by the identification by the United Nations of 'development decades' in the 1960s and 1970s to raise awareness in richer countries of the world. The main aim of the focus on education for development was to increase the knowledge of young people about aid, trade and development issues affecting the 'Third World' and link this to increasing their capacity to take action on behalf of people seen to be less materially fortunate than themselves. In England, the key non-government organisations supporting development education were the education committee of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC) and its successor, the Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD). Development NGOs like Oxfam and Christian Aid were founder members of VCOAD and key funders and supporters of local initiatives for development education. Mildred Nevile, who represented the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) on VCOAD, has recalled that being part of the network enabled smaller players like CIIR to have a seat at the top table and through that feel they also could have an influence on Government education provision. Nevile sat on the Advisory Committee on Development Education (ACDE) which she felt she would not have done if CIIR had not been a member of the VCOAD network. According to the journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy, an important role of CIIR at this time was to bring a focus on Latin American affairs to the discussion table as well as contributing generally to increasing awareness in aid and public circles that money spent on 'education at home is at least as important as overseas aid'.¹

Oxfam was the largest player in this NGO field, in terms of both committed funds and specialist staff. Therefore Oxfam's Education Department and its chief architect, Og Thomas, played a key role in the emergence of development education in England in the form that it did. A key phase of Thomas' career along this journey was from 1971 to 1974, the years between his two long periods at Oxfam when he set up the first development organisation in the country, Antipoverty. Antipoverty initiated a range of formal and informal sector educational projects based on study of specific developing world localities and needs and ways that young people in England could choose to respond to them. This concept of 'study/action' is the core of understanding what proponents of development education believed to be of educational value during these years.

The change from the VCOAD education unit to the Centre for World Development Education (CWDE) by 1977 marked an important shift in NGO relations with Government over development education, even though the same person, Derek Walker, was in charge of the new organisation. CWDE came to be seen by the NGOs as more of a rival development education organisation than a co-ordinating and supporting body which had been the aim of VCOAD. With the running down of funding for development education activities by the incoming Conservative Government after 1979, it was only CWDE that remained centrally supported in England. Thus the networking concept risked becoming a source of confusion more than a strengthening arm for development education.

The main consolidation of a movement for development education in England took place from 1975 to 1979, when the Labour Government gave increasing commitment and financial support through the ODM. The development education movement became more visible through the creation of local resource and teacher support centres named as Development Education Centres (DECs; see map from 1979 on the following page). Oxfam's Education Department played a large role in supporting the growth of many urban DECs.

IMAGE REDACTED DUE TO THIRD PARTY RIGHTS OR OTHER LEGAL ISSUES



*Fig. 5: A map of Development Education Centres
(reduced from original edition of Birmingham DEC, 1979, page 103).*

At the same time as ODM was giving support to development education, the DES strengthened its support for EIU through its 1976 Circular to schools and finance for a Standing Conference (SCEIU). This surge of activity was paralleled by the expansion into LEAs of the World Studies Project which had been set up by the Parliamentary Group for World Government (PGWG). This also was an outcome of the post-Second World War concept of a 'new world order' where better understanding of nationalism in a frame of internationalism was seen by its advocates to be important for the education of future citizens. The World Studies movement therefore operated in frequent collaboration with the education for development movement during these years. World Studies was not the same and was not seen by teachers and educators as the same as development education. World Studies projects and learning initiatives operated from a more whole world dimension than development education which had its core focus on one part of the world seen to be in need of the greatest development. Learning themes typically encompassed economic, political, social and environmental concerns whereas development education themes were primarily economic and social.

This difference in emphasis can be partly explained by differences in the kind of organisations which grew up to give support. By the mid-1970s, Oxfam had a strong, forward-looking development education programme which drew from the direct experience of the organisation's aid projects in developing countries. Oxfam Education can be described as restricted by its base inside a fundraising aid and development organisation. This was the essential nature of the drive being given to the expansion of development education materials and projects into schools. In contrast to Oxfam and other members of VCOAD, the World Studies Project functioned as a catalyst for progressive learning that could be seen to be closer to professional structures than development NGOs which were – and still are – necessarily linked to fundraising and related negative imagery of people in need. Thus, although the development education and World Studies

movements worked together and supported each other, they were distinctive educational movements within the field of global learning in England during these formative years.

The role of Oxfam in raising development awareness was a large one. At a meeting of Oxfam's Council in November 1979, the Director General's Report on the Education Department was accepted. The Report, written by Og Thomas, covers closer collaboration with other departments, the involvement of volunteers in DEC's, the changing role of Education Organisers, curriculum development projects with Avon and Manchester Local Education Authorities, courses in Colleges of Education in Coventry and Winchester, growth in publishing and sales of materials and the setting up of a working party to evaluate the Department's work.²

Proposals for changes of emphasis were seen as dependent on both internal Oxfam changes and the external environment where the Labour Government that was committed to increased spending on development education had been succeeded by the Conservatives in May of that year. Also with Oxfam's growth of interest in supporting adult campaigning, it was seen as essential for the formal sector work, as evidenced in the support to DEC's to mesh in with this. An important decision to be made was how much of the ODM funding role Oxfam might be able or wish to take on. Positive recommendations included increasing the sales of materials and the national dissemination of local curriculum development initiatives.³

In the Council debate on this paper, members advised realism and not attempting to spread limited resources too widely. While congratulating Thomas and the Department on the professionalism of its materials it was recognised that effects were long term and hard to measure as education work of this kind was a 'matter of faith'. Tim Bowles, who was leading the evaluation of the Department, stated that effective evaluation of the impact of development

education should ideally be carried out by Government. Canon Milford said 'we had to be careful about wrapping propaganda in an educational cloak' and young people wanted to learn about things actually being done which could influence their attitudes for the rest of their lives.⁴

At this point in the development of Oxfam's education policy trends were clearly discernible which influenced the programme through the 1980s and beyond. Development education was becoming a term acceptable both within Oxfam and in the professional world of education. Oxfam had been successful in influencing Government to support this, although only through the ODM and not the DES. Thomas had attempted to hold a balance between internal Oxfam needs like offering opportunities for volunteers and learning from overseas programme experience and a changing external environment, where development education initiatives were finding support from teachers and Local Education Authorities. Thomas was aware that changing education priorities of the new Conservative Government would have a negative effect on teachers and thereby increase their pressure for professional support from other bodies like the NGOs.⁵

In 1980 a retired School Inspector, M. R. Wigram, presented an evaluation report on the Education Department which was debated at Council in July. Wigram's conclusions included the high level of professional esteem for Oxfam's educational work, that the Department was trying to cover too wide a range of activities so that it should forge closer links with the formal education system and that a professional advisory panel should be formed to guide the future direction of its work.⁶

This thesis marks an initial step into an area of English educational history which has been relatively under-researched to date: that of interfaces between the charity sector and the state. It has attempted to trace an outline of events and trends in relation to basic questions of historical enquiry: what happened and why? This process has been through asking, for example, how Oxfam and its

partner development NGOs influenced the emergence of learning focused on Third World development within an existing and wider field for global awareness in schools. The significance of the findings makes an original contribution to the field of global awareness in education in England. This is through the fieldwork research on Oxfam and other members of the VCOAD network. This research highlights the important role of NGOs in influencing public and professional attitudes and thereby what young people were learning about the changing world while they were at school. The 'secret garden' of learning content and method was not just walled off from government intervention: it was also protecting learners from possible politicised and lobbying influences. This is how the activities of development NGOs could be seen within their home country. It was the task of the Education Departments of Oxfam and other VCOAD members to dispel this fear of bias through the construction of positive learning programmes and resources in partnership with teachers and in liaison with the key Government Ministries.

There is scope for further research in this area, for example in exploring the educational histories of some of the VCOAD partner organisations and especially Christian Aid which was closest to Oxfam's education programme at the time. There is also much scope for deeper analytical research to extend this outline framework. This could be through asking different sets of questions of the available evidence in the interwoven histories of international understanding, development education and world studies.

The first question that could be asked about the movements is 'who paid?' because the financing of education initiatives outside state education funding are key to understanding how and why such programmes developed. CEWC was largely funded by the Ministry of Education / DES and membership subscriptions from schools (which were often 'richer' schools in the private and state networks – and predominantly secondary schools). VCOAD was funded through government and NGO collaboration, with the government side coming

from the Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM) rather than the DES. The World Studies Project was mainly funded in its initial stage by a grant from the Leverhulme Trust.

A second area of questioning might be 'who controlled, directed or decided?' When decisions were made about developing new initiatives for global learning in school, who took responsibility for setting up, carrying out and then evaluating action? Here there would need to be an analysis of power differentials between the charity sector and the state, which relates to the financial issues referred to in the previous paragraph. Where VCOAD can be seen in an intermediate position funded by both sides but ostensibly managed by NGO directors, its successor organisation, CWDE, was more tightly controlled and influenced by its core financial support from the ODM. One result of this change was that the NGO development education initiatives became more independent of central government control, although they sought grant funding from the ODM to sustain local education projects like the emerging DEC's. Had VCOAD developed in a different way as a valued co-ordinating body trusted by both the NGOs and Government, the outcome for development education programmes in England would have been different. The movement would conceivably have been more strongly directed and funded by central government and could thereby arguably have had more impact on schools, as the movement for Environmental Education was beginning to do at this time. The downside of this process as seen from an NGO perspective would have been a loss of freedom to innovate, at local and national levels, which could also have meant a loss of freedom to challenge government provisions for global learning or lack of them.

A third question to ask is 'who benefited?' because evaluations of these educational programmes had to show their learning value, and – in the case of development education – any potential value for the people in Third World countries being learned about. This is an important factor which distinguishes the emerging development education concept from the EIU one it grew from.

Where EIU programmes, as typified by CEWC Christmas Lectures, aimed to prepare young people as aware global citizens, development education programmes aimed to stimulate possibilities for action. This distinction – in Marx's famous terms between 'interpreting' the world and 'changing' it – can be best seen in the Antipoverty 'study/action' projects during the early 1970s. Antipoverty staff were clear in their rationale that projects should benefit both the young people involved in learning about aspects of Third World development in England and in some rather more vaguely defined way benefit people in the Third World countries being studied. The former could be evaluated through a gain in self-confidence and local community action, as for example for improving housing in areas of Manchester. The latter was to be achieved through a range of actions from fundraising and publicity to direct interventions like the work camps for young people from youth groups in Leicestershire helping to build low-technology installations in a school in western Nigeria.

In a more general view of Oxfam's role in the rise of development education in England, conclusions can be made based on the research for the three initial research questions posed in Chapter One.

1. Why did a movement for development education in schools emerge in England and what were the key influences on its educational theory and practice?

The movement for development education as portrayed in this thesis was of a particularly English nature. There were loose boundaries between groupings almost at times being seen to work most effectively together through a lack of clear definitions of purpose. Robin Richardson's work for the World Studies Project has been drawn on extensively here, because he was one of the educators looking for clearer definitions of meaning for both 'development' from aid-giving to popular movements for change and for 'education' from information to challenging of personal values in relation to a changing world. Therefore, a

definite movement for development education in schools can be traced through the 1960s and 1970s in England, but it was a loosely defined one. Its origins can be seen in the United Kingdom subscribing to United Nations values of peace and human rights in the post Second World War scenario. This was built up largely by peace educators using the term of UNESCO convenience for world-minded learning, as 'Education for International Understanding'. From this bedrock of support, those enthusiastic educators for Third World development and economic progress for the world's poor were able to conceive and construct an inner movement that they chose to term as 'development education'. Key influences on the education practice of this sub-movement included the aid programmes of the parent NGOs, with a belief in grass-roots development. This meant that the movement was characterised by small-scale initiatives, building upwards from local initiative towards central influence on Government. Examples of this approach include the creation of a network of local resource centres for teachers – the DEC's – and experimental courses in Colleges of Education, as at Coventry and Winchester under Oxfam's inspiration (see Chapter Seven). This trend for grass-roots development as a way of achieving progress places the sub-movement for development education at some distance from the outer movement for world-minded education, where a body like SCEIU could be conceived by people within the education profession to bring continuous influence on the DES.

With regard to influences on educational theory, the writings of the Brazilian educator Paulo Freire are often cited by development educators. These became apparent from the date of publication of *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in English by Penguin in 1971. However, it may be more accurate to see the movement rather as one that was lightweight on theory, at least during these formative decades. Og Thomas at Oxfam had a large collection of educational writings from around the world, but there is not such wide evidence of his drawing on this in the articles on educational theory which he did produce.⁷ A common frame of reference in this was the Newsom Report and the need for

Oxfam's educational initiatives to reach out to young people of all learning abilities. This position is more one of responsive action in relation to Government provision for education than one which can be judged to have been based on a clearly worked out theoretical framework for development education. This side of the equation belongs rather to the World Studies Project, where there was much generation of educational theory and exploration of it through the pages of *New Era*. The World Studies Project drew on educational theorists from the United States, the Scandinavian countries and many others. This again highlights the particularly English nature of the movement for development education within the remit of this thesis. Much has been written and published elsewhere about the parallel but different movements coming within the umbrella term 'development education' in countries including Canada, the Netherlands and Sweden.⁸

2. To what extent and in what ways were the 1960s to 1970s the key period for the rise of development education in England?

Before 1960, the term 'development education' was not in current use – at least not in circles of educational influence in England. The coining of the term seems to originate from the Action for Development arm of the FAO in Rome around 1969-1970. This means that the 1960s, named by the United Nations as the First Development Decade, was a key formative period for the rise of an educational movement which began to be identifiable during the Second Development Decade of the 1970s. Evidence for this claim includes the increasing use of the term 'development education' in Oxfam policy papers and publications for schools during the 1970s, and in those of partner NGOs like Christian Aid. In 1975 a first 'Development Education Centre' was set up in Birmingham. In 1977 the inter-agency co-ordinating body VCOAD took on the terminology through its new name of 'The Centre for World Development Education' (CWDE). In the same year, the ODM established its 'Advisory Committee on Development Education' (ACDE) which reported in the following

year. This had come about through the network of VCOAD members collaborating with central Government to increase public and financial support for development education.

It is of particular historical interest that the key decade for the rise of development education in England was the 1970s. The 1960s are experiencing something of an historical vogue at present, with the publication of Dominic Sandbrook's two books and a series of BBC radio programmes exploring the revolutionary legacy of 1968. However, the 1970s still have a poor historical record in English consciousness as a negative decade of economic disasters, industrial unrest and uncertain changes of government wavering between Edward Heath's 'Selsdon' vision of caring Conservatism and the burning out of Harold Wilson's 'White Heat' of Labour inspired technological progress.⁹ Possibly adequately distanced histories of the 1970s remain to be written. This present study has endeavoured to identify this decade as key to the rise of development education, through expanding ambition of NGOs linked to a greater grasp of practical reality in what they could achieve working with and for teachers. This was made possible through changes within the teaching profession for opening up the curriculum to new areas of learning in social studies and integrated humanities, which made concepts like 'development education' and 'world studies' more readily acceptable.

3. How was the rise of development education in England influenced by a network of non-government development organisations interacting with government and to what extent was Oxfam the key NGO in this process?

Oxfam was regarded at the time as 'the giant' among NGOs giving support to development education, in terms of staff numbers, budgets and production of learning materials. Oxfam recruited trained teachers and youth workers at its Oxford headquarters and in regional posts. Many of these had direct Third World experience through travelling or as overseas volunteers. Og Thomas was

recruited as head of Oxfam's Education Department, with teaching experience in London, South East Asia and East Africa. From the setting up of the Education Department in the early 1960s and throughout the Thomas period, there were internal tensions in relation to the development education programme. These were primarily caused by differences between the need to conform to charity law in relation to support-generating and awareness raising activities and the perceptions of Education Department team members that more overt stances on issues of public concern were essential if change in schools was to be influenced. In other words, the position of Oxfam management was generally one of wise caution where promoting learning based directly on Oxfam's overseas projects could be seen as acceptable activity because this would not act against the primary aid and relief purposes of the organisation. The growing clarity in the position of development educators within Oxfam was that there should be more to learning about the success of aid and development projects on the ground. The concept of development as a process involving everyone began to grow and to challenge the management agenda, because it was expanding to consider global processes of aid, trade and social and economic injustices which many Oxfam staff would have considered beyond the remit of the charity and the personal motivations they had to work for this kind of organisation.

This clarification of a variety of positions within Oxfam over development education does not prove that it was the key influence in the NGO movement, but it does not disprove it either. There was on-going close collaboration with like-minded organisations, both on a bi-lateral basis and through the networking and co-ordinating role of VCOAD's Education Unit. A chief partner organisation was Christian Aid, which had a team of teachers producing learning materials and initiating projects with teachers on a similar model of educational change to Oxfam's. There were also many other concerned groups who have not formed the foreground of this particular study but which all played roles in a wide and diverse movement. This particularly applies to religious groups that included

Anglicans, Methodists and Quakers. As Oxfam was the largest player, it can be easy to characterise the movement for development education as broadly secular. If any of the other organisations had taken the key role, this could well have led to quite different formulations for the nature of NGO support to development education in schools.

An illuminating comment from Judith Hart when she was Minister of Overseas Development shows how the complexity of relations between Government and 'affiliate' NGOs could amount to rivalry. While working to increase funding to NGOs for development education, Hart was at the same time writing in *Oxfam News* about her desire to see the ODM do better than Oxfam:

I give absolutely full marks to your educational programmes. Frankly they are better than those of the Ministry. I hope that here at ODM we shall be able during the next year to build up a programme and assemble the kind of material which rivals your own.¹⁰

Through the complexities development education emerged in England as an identifiable field of learning, especially during the 1970s. This was largely through the vision and practical initiatives of development NGOs, with Oxfam's Education Department playing a main role. A significant part of this role was the setting up of DECs to provide local support to teachers, although even by 1979 at the conference which led to the creation of a National Association for DECs (NADEC) there was still concern over the 'apparent mushrooming of "co-ordinating bodies for development education under the seal of education for international understanding etc."'.¹¹ This shows that the concept of development education was still not firmly in place at the end of the decade. Oxfam and other development NGO members of the networks which were created to support the emergence of development education were constrained by necessities of fundraising and the limitations placed on their awareness raising activities within

their home country by Charity Commission rules on any activities which could be seen to be politicised. This means that the successive networks, FFHC, VCOAD and then CWDE, played an important role in linking the NGO sector to central government and especially the newly created ODM. Therefore, within a broader framework for global learning largely created through an interface between CEWC and successive Ministries of Education, development education was a new, even upstart, trend which challenged this consensus for 'international understanding' with a new emphasis on learning directly from and for the poorest parts of the world. The development NGOs improved their own expertise in 'overseas development' which had previously been the domain of the Colonial Office, to the extent that they started to challenge ODM provision of aid. This meant that there were effectively two differing views on aid and development within England, which could be called the 'official mind' and the 'unofficial mind'. The official ODM position was to dispense aid to those judged to be in most need and often with a balancing concern for promoting British interests as for example in giving water construction contracts to British companies. The unofficial, NGO, position was to challenge this kind of aid by lobbying for government aid to be larger – 1% of GNP was the desired target – and for the aid to be more 'grass-roots' and 'people-centred'. NGO aid programmes aimed for a process that could be regarded more as 'development' or 'helping people to help themselves' than aid as charity handouts from the rich to the poor. Phrases like 'partnership with the poor' were much more evident in NGO arenas than in Government ones.

Such a view of the changing nature of British aid and of the lobbying roles taken by British aid agencies is important for understanding the kind of programmes they supported within the home country for teachers and pupils in schools. Where neighbouring countries like the Netherlands and Sweden had stronger state involvement in overseas development and in development education at home, the English version presented a more confusing picture through the strength of the NGO sector and the ambiguities of its relations with Government.

The outcome was a concept of development education that may have been a flag of convenience which all parties could agree to sail under but which could also be seen as confusing the clarity of understanding necessary to offer the education system a viable field of learning. This could explain why a cycle from peace studies, world studies and environmental studies through to human rights studies today provides a clearer picture for educational innovation than the less clearly conceived area of development studies. Behind the term 'development' there have always been confusions of meaning, which helps to explain the different routes which development education in England could have taken during the 1960s and 1970s – while recognising that the term 'education' did not have its own clear consensus of meaning during these decades.

References to Chapter Nine

¹ E-mail correspondence with Mildred Nevile, April 2007. Telephone discussion with Hugh O'Shaughnessy, 16 May 2007.

² Oxfam 'Education Department: Report to Council, November 1979'.

³ Ibid., page 4.

⁴ Oxfam Directors' Files: Report to Council, 17 November 1979, C37/79.

⁵ Oxfam 'Education Department: Report to Council, November 1979', page 3.

⁶ 'Oxfam's Education Department: Report to Council of Management of an Enquiry carried out in the Spring of 1980', M. R. Wigram, 14 June 1980. Both Robin Richardson from 'our Advisory Panel' and Tim Bowles from Council were on the working party which set up the Wigram Report (Oxfam 'Education Department: Report to Council, November 1979', page 2).

⁷ From a personal memory shared with me by Barbara Bond who managed Thomas' collection of books after his death.

⁸ See the reference to Ishii's article featuring development education in Japan in Chapter One (Ishii, Y., 2001). A good source for comparative writings on development education by the end of the 1970s is UNESCO's *International Review of Education*,

especially the special 1982 issue which contains Pradervand's article on the history of development education, also referred to in Chapter One, page 9 (Pradervand, P., 1982).

⁹ 'White Heat' is the title of Sandbrook's history of the sixties (Sandbrook, D., 2006).

¹⁰ *Oxfam News*: October 1977, in the Hart papers at the Museum of Labour History, Manchester, 10/13.

¹¹ 'The Report from the National Conference for the Development Education Centres, Fircroft College, Selly Oak, Birmingham. February 16-18th, 1979'. Appendix Three.

Appendix One

Terms, people and organisations

This is a guide to terms and names of people and organisations (with acronyms) used in this thesis. The terms provide definitions for three main strands of global education. The people listed have been the main focus of the research. The organisations are those most closely positioned to Oxfam which is the core NGO for the research.

Terms

World-minded education: used as a composite term for 'education for international understanding' (EIU), 'education for world citizenship' and 'world studies' to denote aspects of global learning with origins in promoting world peace, focused towards young people's understanding of world systems.

Development awareness: used as a composite term for 'Third World activism', 'aid lobbying' and 'development issues' to denote aspects of global learning with origins in overseas aid programmes, focused towards young people's understanding of developing countries and their links with developed countries.

Development education: used as a term for a range of combinations of the two terms above to denote aspects of global learning with origins in public concerns for the developing world in relation to aspects of wider world understanding.

People

Government ministers – with power to support NGO educational initiatives in the public interest:

- Castle, Barbara: Labour politician and first Minister of Overseas Development from 1964-1965.
- Hart, Judith: Labour politician and Minister of Overseas Development from 1969-1970, 1974-1975 and 1977-1979.
- Judd, Frank (Lord Judd of Portsea): Labour politician, Minister of Overseas Development from 1976-1977 and subsequently Director of Oxfam.
- Prentice, Reginald: Labour then Conservative politician, Minister of Overseas Development from 1967-1969 and 1975-1976; also Minister of Education from 1974-1975.
- Williams, Shirley (Baroness Williams of Crosby): Labour then Social Democrat politician, Minister of Education from 1976-1979.

World-minded / development educators – promoting learning through schools, teacher training institutions and non-government networks and organisations:

- Henderson, James: History lecturer at the University of London's Institute of Education and first Chair of the World Studies Project in 1973.
- Miles, Margaret (Dame): Headmistress, Vice-President of the Council for Education in World Citizenship and Chair of the Advisory Committee on Development Education, 1977-1978.
- Nevile, Mildred: General Secretary of the Catholic Institute for International Relations from 1967 and member of the Advisory Committee on Development Education, 1977-1978.
- Richardson, Robin: Director of the World Studies Project, 1973-1979.

- Sinclair, Scott: Oxfam Education Adviser 1974, then Director of Birmingham DEC.
- Thomas, Og: Head of Oxfam's Education Department from 1966-1970 and 1974-1981; Director of Antipoverty from 1971-1974.
- Walker, Derek: Director of VCOAD Education Unit from 1966, then the Centre for World Development Education / Worldaware from 1977-1999.
- Wright, David: geography lecturer and author with Jill Wright of the UNESCO report *The Changing World in the Classroom* in 1974.

Organisations

Government and parliament:

- Ministry of Education: established 1944, changed to Department of Education and Science (DES) 1964, then DfEE, DfES, now DCSF.
- Ministry of Overseas Development (ODM): established 1964, changed to Overseas Development Administration (ODA) 1970, to ODM 1974, to ODA 1979, now DfID.
- Parliamentary Group for World Government (PGWG): established 1947.
- Advisory Committee on Development Education (ACDE): 1977-1978.

Development education networking organisations:

- Freedom from Hunger Campaign (FFHC): established 1960, now Freedom from Hunger.
- Voluntary Committee on Overseas Aid and Development (VCOAD): established 1965, changed to Centre for World Development Education (CWDE) 1977-1992, to Worldaware 1992, now defunct.
- National Association of Development Education Centres (NADEC): established 1979, merged into Development Education Association (DEA) 1993.

Development NGOs and / or founder members of VCOAD:

- Save the Children Fund (SCF): established 1919, now Save the Children.
- Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR): established 1940 as Sword of the Spirit, renamed as CIIR in 1965, now Progressio.
- Oxfam: established 1942 as the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief.
- United Nations Association (UNA-UK): established 1945 from the League of Nations Union.
- War on Want: established 1951.
- Overseas Development Institute (ODI): established 1960.
- Christian Aid: established 1964 from the Department of Interchurch Aid and Refugee Service.

Development Education Centres (DECs):

- Norwich Third World Centre: established 1973, eventually replaced by Norwich Education and Action for Development (NEAD).
- Birmingham DEC: established 1976, now TIDEC.
- Archway Development Education Centre (ADEC): established 1978, now defunct.

Development awareness / adult education and lobbying organisations:

- Third World First: established 1969, now People and Planet.
- World Development Movement (WDM): established 1970.

Educational organisations and networks:

- Council for Education in World Citizenship (CEWC): established 1939, now amalgamated with the Citizenship Foundation.
- Commonwealth Institute: re-named in 1958 from the Imperial Institute, now the Commonwealth Education Trust.
- World Studies Project: 1973-1979, then World Studies 8-13, now the World Studies Trust.
- Standing Conference on Education for International Understanding (SCEIU): established 1978, now defunct.

Appendix Two

Oxfam round-table discussion

This is an edited version of the taped transcript of a round table discussion on the origins of Oxfam's Education Department, held at the Wheatley home of Bill Jackson on 22 March 2006.

Participants were:

- Bill Jackson: Deputy Organiser for Schools and Universities, 1962-1964; Education Officer, 1964-1966.
- Maggie Jackson: Primary Organiser, 1963 - .
- Richard Taylor: Education Organiser, 1965-1968; Education Officer, 1971-1974.
- Marieke Clarke: Educational Materials Editor, 1965-1983.
- Sally Taylor: 1964 - .
- Don Harrison: Education Adviser, 1979-1985; PhD researcher.
- Rosie Dodd: Archivist, from 1998; Transcriber.

On Stella Dyer – the first Oxfam Education Organiser – World Refugee Year and the Freedom from Hunger Campaign

Bill Jackson

"... so if we come then to the what we call, for the want of a better word, to the Stella Dyer period. What do I know about it? Not all that much. I first met her,

or she first met me, in 1959 in Trinity College Dublin. She had been, as of the World Refugee Year, designated, as organizer for schools and universities. It was probably part-time. Certainly, she worked from her home in Bristol; her husband, Bryn, was the youth employment officer in Bristol. She was a fascinating woman, very striking person. Short, very vigorous, very energetic, no oil painting, carrot red hair, glasses, feisty is the word that's come in since those days, which she certainly was. "Sturdy" was her favourite adjective, I always remember, everything needed to be sturdy... She came from, if I remember rightly, personnel work, human resources work. She'd been with Mitchells and Butlers, the brewers, I think heading up personnel. She was very interesting, very unusual, from left field, as the Americans would say. The Council [of Trustees] hardly knew what the hell to make of her.

Leslie Kirkley has this gift of... when people offered their services, just letting them run with the thing they wanted to do.¹ He exercised a degree of control but he... there was a joke made at one stage, I think it was Canon Milford who summed it up, "We're not quite sure what it is, Mrs. Dyer, that you want to do, but we're in entire agreement that you should do it." She was just a character that you didn't cross, you know. Tremendous enthusiasm. And what she started off with, if I remember rightly, was a Christmas mailing to the schools. Just a mail shot, in which she did no more, rather cleverly, than to send them a Christmas carol in a nicely illustrated [card]. Just two pages in which there was very nice illustration on the front, the music and the words, a greeting from Oxfam and a few words about what Oxfam was doing. And it went out as a kind of Christmas card to schools.

On the Education Department – encouraging involvement or raising money? The beginning of the expense ratio debate

Bill Jackson

I think one should remember that Oxfam was a hell of a sight smaller in those days - we're talking about an organization which was raising less, substantially less, than a million pounds a year. Even if you allow for inflation, you're still talking a very small operation. An operation which was highly conscious of the fact that the average guy or woman in the public simply was saying, "Oh, it's all being spent on the administration. They spend everything on admin in that place." And they were absolutely paranoid about this, you know, the expense ratio. And if the education department didn't itself have a pretty good response in fundraising terms, pro rata to its outlay, then there was the potential for trouble. That's why it's interesting, for example, to note that quite early, when Mervyn Jones wrote this book 'Two Ears of Corn', which was published in '65, he was able to say, "Oxfam devotes a considerable effort to education, to spreading knowledge, especially among young people about the realities of the underdeveloped world. I shall be saying more about this in Chapter Twenty-Four. I should stress here, the work is not undertaken with the direct aim of raising money, however, since it does, in fact, bring in money, it has a place in an analysis of Oxfam's income. The education programme cost £12,000 and contributed £101,000." Now, he doesn't say what year that was for. But, since he wrote it in '65, or probably '63/'64, so by then, that's how it looked. We were spending £12,000 and we were getting in 101 [thousand pounds]. Which was the kind of thing that enabled us, well, first of all, to expand, so that we were able in September of '63, to hire a person for secondary schools, Jonathan, and a person for primary schools, Maggie.

On the first education materials

Bill Jackson

Well, the second thing - it allowed us to expand, and it allowed us to expand first of all, to somebody who would help us design education materials for primary schools; we'll come to secondary in a minute. Now, if you say, to what extent

did it link with the programme, we did these [Classroom Project Folders]: Ali and Gaza, Yanni and Greece, Kim in Korea, Dithebe in Bechuanaland, Inti in Bolivia and there were a couple more which I've lost down the years.² Now, every one of those was a country where we were working. Oxfam started, effectively, in Greece, and, as I'm sure you know, we were working quite significantly in Gaza, Korea, Hong Kong, places in the Far East, Botswana, Bechuanaland.

Richard Taylor

This is fascinating because we're talking here about 1964, now here you have a primary school wallet which Marieke produced – ten years later because it's got 75p on it. Now that is very definitely linked to Oxfam's overseas work, I think you'll find. There's a list of contents here, there's a brief summary of Oxfam's work, '51 to '73. It's just fascinating to see the development over ten years from that to there! But no, you're right, it was very definitely taking the overseas programme as its basis and in a sense actually its authority.

Marieke Clarke

... Og had more educational theory than most of us. He made the point that we were doing study in action and very honestly, in my opinion, Oxfam's overseas programme seldom was anything like the quality of the education programme. I had been involved in development projects overseas and I was not particularly impressed with quite a lot of what I saw, for example, I was involved in opposing Rhodesia and Oxfam was having projects to support the forces, they were knitting socks for the troops, that sort of thing... But by the time that Og was with us, seven years later, we were able to choose from projects and to give examples of certain good development work that was being done and I had the confidence to be able to choose projects that were up to standard.

On setting up an education department

Bill Jackson

... I think it was by no later than '63 or '64 that I was definitely trying to put this on a footing as a department within Oxfam. My title got changed because I didn't think it was sufficient any longer to say "Deputy Organizer for Schools and Universities." I became Education Officer...

... [The department] had expanded in terms of numbers of people, professionally, but also administratively, because you're raising 101,000 quid which, again, allow for inflation, was quite a significant sum of money in those days and it was coming in small dribs and drabs... [and] what we were very intent on doing, Maggie's already illustrated very well, was to respond personally. It wasn't going to go out just as a routine, blanket thank you from Oxfam; you had to thank the specific school. You personalised the thing. And that obviously meant staff. You couldn't do that without staff. And so we then moved into a position by '65 when you [Maggie] were bowing out to have our eldest. We had punch cards, the whole [administrative] thing was on punch cards.

On cooperating with other agencies - VCOAD

Bill Jackson

... And then came the thing, well, couldn't you do it with the other agencies together? Wouldn't that be a sensible thing? Of course, the thinking of the powers that be was, you know, speaking with forked tongues, because if they could get rid of the education department, which they weren't certain was paying its way, by making it work with other agencies, well, they not only met the administration ratio problem but they met the other problem, which was, are we actually charitably allowed to do any of this work, and are we allowed to do it in

the way that the education department says it would like to do it, which is to cater for biology or geography or history or whatever. Which seems to get you even further away from fundraising...

It was, if Oxfam had this internal problem, it felt this problem so badly that the education work had to be made to respond as effectively as any other part of the [?] the fundraising imperative, then why not save ourselves the bother by hiving off a small structure and a certain amount of money and creating an education trust. That seemed to me to be a sensible thing to do and then it would be self-contained and we wouldn't have to worry about it. But it was at the time of the end of Freedom from Hunger and moving into VCOAD and so it wasn't politic at the time.

**On Oxfam's Youth work in the 1960s – radical ideas and outcomes
... the Haslemere Declaration, the Hunger Game, Operation Oasis and
walks**

Bill Jackson

The other side is the youth side... which is hugely important. We had decided quite early on that youth was an additional and different thing and needed a different treatment. And it worked in many ways, and it didn't work in some ways...

What I'm trying to say is you've had International Youth Year at the UN - total failure. Because nobody really knows how to define youth, nobody knew exactly where they were to be found, who precisely they were and weren't and so completely heterogeneous. I mean, you've got people still in school, no they weren't, they'd left school, okay. Were they in jobs? Were they unemployed? Were they in youth clubs? Were they in sports clubs? Where were they, and how did you get at them?

Richard Taylor

Particularly in the sixties, the youth department was very powerful indeed. We could get 10,000 people on the streets walking at dead of night from the centre of London to Brighton. No problem. And there were numerous sponsored walks which were very much Oxfam's pioneering, and Young Oxfam Bulletin - we had a huge number of young Oxfam groups up and down the country, from Aberdeen to Penzance. And the major figure here, major, major figure was David Moore, who was an extremely charismatic person, quite radical. His analysis of the world was certainly more radical than Oxfam's was. Over a period of time, he became extremely articulate and, we're getting further on now, he developed a very strong relationship with Og Thomas when Og arrived. One of the key landmarks that has to be mentioned was the Haslemere Declaration which was an extremely, at that time, radical analysis of the development situation, and it was not only Oxfam; it was a number of other organizations as well. The Ockenden Venture... That really has developed into the New Internationalist and all other sorts of things. Okay, the sixties was a generation of its own and you could argue, well, anybody could have got 10,000 people on the streets. But it was Oxfam that was getting those young people.

Bill Jackson

You mention the Haslemere Declaration. One probably also shouldn't forget two other things. One was the Stowe Conference in '65 and which was a combination of education and youth. We had a conference at Stowe School. Now I can't remember how many people attended that but I would have said from memory a good couple of hundred. We had some top-line speakers. We had Lord Caradon who made a very memorable contribution to that and which was at the height of the UDI business with Rhodesia.³ It was most interesting - in fact, it was inspiring. You know, when you think then of the arguments about

the expense ratio and one thing or another and you think that out of Stowe conference, and I think you [Richard] could remember many more, Oxfam's long time and recently retired legal advisor came – John Isherwood. Brendan Gormley, the organizer of the Disasters Emergency Committee...

The other highlight was Operation Oasis. We did this in 1966 where we took 796 schoolchildren and 150 teachers at one and the same moment to developing countries... Maggie Black rather pooh-poohs it in the history. Those floating schools were there and they were doing education cruises all the time around the Mediterranean and beyond.

And it was pooh-poohed a little because we lost money on it. About £15...£95 or something like that, something terrible, you know. The only reason we lost money, the one and only reason, was I refused to overbook. The ship company said, "Overbook because you'll have some cancellations in the end." I said, "I'm not going to overbook because if I pull the rug from under a school at the last minute and say sorry, and they'd been studying this thing regularly for six months, classroom projects the length and breadth of the school, kids coming, and I pull the rug from under them, we, Oxfam, will hit the fan good and proper." So we took the risk.

Richard Taylor

... annual conference run by the education and youth departments, we had one at Sibford; the following year, we had one at Keele; they went on like that. Now, the Keele one was particularly interesting because it was called 'The Hunger Game'. It was a week of simulation, a huge simulation game. This links up to the point that we were making a bit earlier, about the question of involvement. Simulation involves young people and simulations in those days were quite new and kids loved them; they loved playing the part of the Secretary General of the United Nations. The particular event was a famine in Bihar in East India and

what was the UN going to do about it? What were the NGOs going to do about it? What was the British government going to do about it? I remember the young person who was asked to play the part of the Secretary General of the UN came to us quite seriously halfway through and said, "I'm sorry - I had a nervous breakdown."

On the early '70s - decline of youth work and pressures on the education department

Bill Jackson

I wasn't there, but I think there is a very clear distinction to be made between campaigning, which was what Oxfam was deeply exercised about. Not just Oxfam either but War on Want, SCF, Christian Aid, were all deeply exercised about the extent to which they could campaign, they could do work which was other than simply raising money in order to spend it in Africa. What did the original law of 1603 allow, what did the rules of 1897, that was updated supposedly in 1959, what did this allow you to do and what did it not allow you to do? At my level that was the notion of an educational trust and of the educational work. To be honest, Oxfam always saw the educational work as a relative detail by comparison with this much, much bigger question which was Oxfam and SCF and War on Want and Christian Aid, all of us together, will never, even if they all worked as one, be more than, you know, a drop in the ocean to quote the title of the book.⁴ And, therefore we must press for altogether more and be allowed to do this, and the Charity Commissioners were saying, "No, no, you can't." That seems to be the crucial thing. Stacey was saying that's what we've got to do and Stacey just pushed it so hard that he was all for, I mean Maggie and others have described it, he wanted something like 40/50% of Oxfam's resources to be devoted to this. And, I mean, that just was going to be a no-no.

Richard Taylor

... the Stacey brouhaha, I may be wrong in terms of the history, but I think it was a factor in the setting up WDM, because it was felt, as Bill was saying, that a charity could not campaign on political activity and therefore we were going to set up this organization which was sad I think really for a number of reasons. One, because if you set up a new agency, you start to split the constituencies, but secondly because now Oxfam is doing the campaigning work that WDM was set up to do. No, I put that wrongly. Oxfam actually could have done and has now proven that it could have done the political campaigning because it's doing it now.

On Og Thomas – a major figure in Oxfam's Education Department and to development education in general

Richard Taylor

I'm not a trained teacher, I never have been. Og was a trained teacher. He had teaching experience and he coupled that with the fact that he also had experience in the Third World. He taught in Laos and he taught in Tanzania. This meant that he brought to the Education Department something that we had never had before, that combination. Now, the overseas experience was important because I experienced this when I came back from India, having been a field director. Og said to me, "How did you manage to get so many things approved which I'd been battling to do before?" Because he'd been Education Officer. The reason was that a field director coming back into Oxfam was lionized. He had a huge amount of authority...

... he had this combination of overseas experience and a teacher qualification and teaching experience. I remember Bill very modestly writing a memo at one stage saying, "We're actually amateurs playing at a professional game"

because, increasingly we were getting into curriculum change and all these things which, if you didn't have the teacher qualification, you were very quickly out of your depth...

And this is the fascinating thing in the development of Oxfam, you see it throughout the organisation – starting off as a volunteer organization with all the advantages that that has and moving much more into a highly professional... I had the experience of being re-employed by Oxfam in 1997 and going out to the Congo and finding that the briefing that one was given was totally different from what it had been twenty years ago...

I think there's a book to be written there on the development of professionalism within the organization and the impact on the volunteering...

I think you can actually become too professional to the extent that the volunteer doesn't actually have a role to play...

... a name that I would like to add to this list here is Elizabeth Stamp. She was not in the Education Department but good educational materials are based on good information and it was Libby who was highly supportive in all of that... Libby was always there, as being outside the Education Department, but prepared to really weigh in good and hard when necessary.

On VCOAD and Derek Walker

Richard Taylor

... The idea was, and it didn't always happen, that you would say what you were planning to do and then your plans could be coordinated with other people so that if, for instance, we were producing primary school wallets then someone else might start to concentrate on the secondary level or whatever. What

actually happened was that you tended to produce, "Now, we have produced so and so."

... Where they described Oxfam as being the giant of the education departments of the agencies and so it tended to be Oxfam that was laying out all these wonderful classroom materials and other people were saying, "Well, we've got this leaflet and I've got a flyer and..."

Bill Jackson

... the crucial, crucial thing in VCOAD, as I recall, was the fact that Derek Walker could work on curriculum... getting stuff into the curriculum in all the different subject areas because he had these various agencies behind him. That was the crucial thing. We weren't coordinating as you say just for primary schools or secondary schools but we saw in Walker the opportunity to get things into the geography syllabus, the history syllabus, the religious studies syllabus, whatever it was, so that they [the schools] would be asking us for materials.

Marieke Clarke

I think it would be good to test all that with Sally Thomas because I have no idea whether Derek Walker was a trained teacher or not. Particularly in the years when Og was not around, it might have been a useful service but compared to Og's expertise working on whatever the reports were that were coming out at national level about education in the late sixties, I don't think Derek's thinking was very original. He may well have been a good, what do you call it, somebody who distributes...

Richard Taylor

A coordinator. I agree with that. Derek wasn't a pioneer but he was an excellent coordinator. A marshaller of forces. I think he came under a lot of pressure on many occasions and I think he withstood that over a long period of time and I really respect him for that...

I think because he was being pulled in all sorts of different directions. His bosses actually were the agencies and, fairly typically, VCOAD had been set up without very specific terms of reference and therefore different agencies had different opinions of what VCOAD should be doing. And the man in the middle was catching it all in the neck. But another figure... who I think is very important in the educational field is Judith Hart because of the support that the government felt it was important should be given to education through the agencies in this county.⁵

On Judith Hart, Minister for Overseas Development, a fan of Oxfam's education materials and program

Richard Taylor

When we were in India, Judith Hart was the Minister of Overseas Development and we had a phone call saying "Judith Hart is arriving in India on so and so. Show her India." And she arrived at Patna airport wearing nylon tights and a crimplene dress and carrying a handbag... Totally wrongly dressed. She'd been extremely badly briefed. We said "Right minister, we're going to put you in a Land Rover and we're going to take you to some villages." And we did. For a whole day we bumped around on rotten roads all the way round the Oxfam Gramdan Action programme. We had meetings with Ashram leaders, we had all the rest of it... and at the end of the day, well, in fact I've still got a letter from her, a personal letter, when she got back to London saying this was one of the most educational things that could have happened to her. She was sick and

tired of the cocktail parties and the diplomatic... Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta. And for one small day, we'd been able to bump her around...

Bill Jackson

Development came in in the parlance of the civil service at quite an early stage. I mean, you've got the CD; you've got the Colombo Plan and all that.⁶ So the word development was being used outside Oxfam, I'm quite sure before Oxfam started to use it. But Oxfam starting to use it would have been very much a result of the Freedom from Hunger campaign. That's when it really started. That's what motivated Stella even more.

Then the concept of development education began to come about, but I don't know how much we used development education as a concept in the early years. I don't think we did because as I say, we were not looking for a new subject. We knew if we tried to advance a new subject, we'd get nowhere because education authorities, headmasters and head teachers, everyone said the syllabus is too full already, we've far too much; we don't want another subject. We were saying, "We're not asking for it as a subject, we're asking for it to be got into each of the subject areas so far as it's relevant."

Marieke Clarke

It might have been also that Oxfam was the first of the agencies to use stunning images, I mean ones that we might not nowadays feel so happy about, at the time of the Congo famine, which was what, '59, and so obviously if you're in a classroom and you want to have decent images, you will not choose something from an organization which just has something smudgy, but they know that Oxfam has got good pictures so they come to us.

¹ H Leslie Kirkley, General Secretary of Oxfam 1959-61, Director 1961-74.

² Issued by the Education Department in collaboration with the Gift Coupon Programme of UNESCO.

³ Hugh Foot, brother of Michael and Sir Dingle, and father of Paul and Oliver.

⁴ Drops in the Ocean. The work of Oxfam 1960-1970 by Peter Gill, 1970

⁵ Labour Party MP. Held various ministerial positions, including Minister for Overseas Development, between 1964 and 1979.

⁶ Colombo Plan – an Asia-Pacific regional organization set up following a Commonwealth Conference of Foreign Ministers held in Colombo, Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in January 1950.

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